Lib copy

ST. LOUIS

OUTLAW

25¢

Vol. 1 No. 5

Sept. 1 – 19, 1970

HUEY NEWTON

BACK ON THE STREETS

PEOPLE'S NEWS

Foreign Aid

LNS – Sixty thousand cases of Carnation Slender, a drink withdrawn from the U.S. market because it contains cyclamates, have recently been shipped to feed war refugees in Laos.

Norval Hadley, director of World Vision, a liberal relief organization, claims that while cyclamate sweetener products were banned in the U.S. for fear they may be cancer producing, no such danger applied to "underfed people."

Blacks and Whites Defy Brass

CHICAGO (LNS) – Naval authorities confined four black Waves "for their own good" at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center here July 9. One black Wave was assaulted earlier in the evening and then the drunken officer on duty forced the four sisters into "protective custody."

Some 75 black sailors moved in a show of solidarity and surrounded the building where the Waves were being held. The women told their story from a second floor barred window to their brothers below.

Lt. Commander Brown ordered the sailors to disperse, but they wouldn't move, insisting on the release of their sisters. By this time the group had grown larger and angrier.

The sailors decided to confront the head of the training center, Captain Stokes, with their demand. He took one look at the crowd and decided to set the Waves free. Knowing what the Captain's words were worth, radical black and white sailors stood guard around the Wave's barracks for the rest of the night.

The Navy's Bureau of Personnel get so uptight about the incident that they sent a direct order to drop all charges against the Waves and to discharge them immediately under honorable conditions.

Immoral Unlawful Atrocity

Whey Army Specialist 4 Keith Franklin, 19, was home on furlough last winter, he handed his parents a sealed envelope and told them not to open it until after his death.

His mother, Mrs. Charles Franklin, later recalled having joked about it. "You'll be back after your two years in service" she told her son, "and we'll open the letter, read it then and have a good laugh about it."

Franklin, a hospital corpsman was sent to Vietnam and was killed earlier this year. His parents opened the envelope and found a letter addressed to "Dear Mom and Dad."

"The war that has taken my life, and many thousands of others before me is immoral, unlawful and an atrocity unlike any misfit of good sense and judgment known to man . . .

"So as I lie dead, please grant my last request. Help me to inform the American people – the silent majority who have not yet voiced their opinions.

"Help me let them know that their silence is permitting this atrocity to go on and that my death will not be in vain if by prompting them to act I can in some way help to bring to an end the war that brought end to my life."

Support Our Boys

MONTEREY, Calif. (LNS) – Prisoners in the Special Processing Detachment Stockade at Fort Ord tore up and burned two barracks and a mess hall Wednesday, Aug. 12. When the military police advanced on the stockade the prisoners rained down rocks and bottles, smashing an MP car and messing up two MPs. The prisoners succeeded in temporarily liberating their brothers from the maximum security part of the stockade called the "cage."

Thursday night two molotov cocktails exploded against the barracks, bringing the riot damage to an estimated $5,000 - $10,000.

The Special Processing Detachment at Fort Ord is a minimum security prison for GIs. Eighty per cent of the prisoners are there for going AWOL (a popular reaction to Army life this year – the Army's own files indicate that 80,000 GIs are missing).

The rebellion began shortly after two prisoners had been busted by military pigs, one for not wearing his hat and the other for not having his shirt tucked in. According to their own regulations, MPs are not supposed to harass S.P.D. prisoners in the S.P.D. area. The brass doesn't want MPs and prisoners to get in contact with each other for fear that there would be an immediate riot.

But the busts were only the last in a long list of S.P.D. grievances. The prisoners are forced to get up at 5 a.m. and work all day doing K.P., janitorial work at officers' quarters and general shitwork in the fort's meat factory. For this they receive $15.00 a month.

The prisoners were also angered when for no apparent provocation, a white C.O. tossed three black WACs in the stockade.

"Anything could set off another riot," says the Bay Area Movement for a Democratic Military spokesman. MDM reports that the S.P.D. prisoners want to hurt the brass more next time by hitting such possible targets as the Post Exchange and the Bank of America building. The prisoners also hope to involve sympathetic GIs outside the stockade in the next rebellion.

Prison Strike

Prisoners at the federal penitentiary in Leavenworth Kansas have gone on strike, refusing to work until the prison meets their demand for payment of the federal minimum wage, $1.60 per hour in prison industries. The wages of federal prisoners presently range from 17 cents to 42 cents an hour while the government reportedly nets a profit of $5 million from all prison industries.

Draft Dodgers

A Canadian government spokesman has estimated that there are more than 300 South Vietnamese Army deserters and draft dodgers, many of them university students, in Canada. Some of these exiles were sent here by the Saigon government on scholarships, some left Vietnam by having their families bribe Saigon officials, while an unknown number got there by "devious means."

The information was disclosed in an article in the Sunday supplement "Parade" which said anti-Saigon students have organized a Vietnamese Patriots organization in Montreal.

Local Blacks Mobilize

Black workers and community organizations in St. Louis have undertaken several steps recently to combat discrimination against black workers by large local corporations.

Workers at Fisher Body and Wagner Electric have formed groups to pressure the companies and the unions to take seriously the grievances of black workers and to correct discriminatory practices within the plant.

Meanwhile CORE has initiated a boycott of Anheuser-Busch products in protest of that firm's hiring practices. ACTION has been conducting a campaign against Southwestern Bell, Laclede Gas, and Union Electric because of the unwillingness of those companies to hire black people in representative numbers.

It Pays to be the Post

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the Globe-Democrat can rest easier these days now that Congress has passed the Newspaper Preservation Act, a bill which makes legal the profit sharing arrangement between the Post and the Globe.

In 1965 a Federal Court ruled that such agreements were illegal, but of course, the Justice Department never quite got around to prosecuting the lawbreakers. Instead, the Department endorsed the Newspaper Preservation Act which exempted newspapers in 22 cities from prosecution for violation of anti-trust laws.

When rich publishers like Newhouse and Pulitzer, owners of the Globe and Post, break the law, the government just passes a new law to excuse what they've done. Wonder why it never works that way for poor people?

Power to the People

The New Jersey Bell Telephone Company has suspended for one day eleven Negro employees who placed stickers on company trucks reading "Power to the People."

Ft. Carson Riot

FT. CARSON, Colo. (LNS) – Two hundred black soldiers fought off MPs at Ft. Carson and liberated a section of that base July 30. Rocks and bottles were used to pelt the Military Pigs. Before the MPs could get reinforcements into the area, everybody had split.

The next morning the post held a shakedown for everyone on base from 1st Lieutenant on down. Rumors that circulated on base blamed the shakedown on the liberation of 200 M-16s from an MP company the week before.

Free Posters

New York (LNS) – Liberation News Service has a new supply of colorful posters published by the Havana-based Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OPSAAAL). You can have these posters free, but there is a 25 cent charge for postage and handling. Limit four posters per person. Send to: OSPAAL Posters, c/o LNS, 160 Claremont Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10027.

FIFTY-FIVE YEARS IN THE MOVEMENT

By Tom Scribner

In the year of 1907 when I was eight years old, I was selling the Saturday Evening Post, Colliers, Grit, and the Chicago Ledger to loggers in the camps near Gemmell, Minnesota. Many of them asked me to get Solidarity, Appeal to Reason, and Masses, all socialist magazines. When I asked my Dad about it he said "Goddlemighty, no, them are red publications." As this happened some ten years before the Russian Revolution it must be said that there is nothing new about the anti-red hysteria.

In 1909 my older sister Grace Scribner sent us a subscription to the Appeal to Reason and the Masses magazines so I became acquainted with the socialist philosophy and the class struggle at an early age. Later on, in 1914, I went to work in the woods for Weyerhaueser Timber Co. as a swamper and I gladly joined the Industrial Workers of the World, the "wobblies."

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things in life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system..... It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism."

So stated, in part, the preamble to the constitution of the I.W.W. This organization made more concrete gains for lumber workers than any other organization ever did to date.

Among these gains were wages, hours, and working conditions. The I.W.W. was a tough, militant labor organization that believed in only on the job action. Their tactics got results, not only in lumber, but in all other industries. The best tactic, I believe, was the "strike on the job" by slowing down production until the employer finally gave in. If the employer would get disgusted enough to fire the whole crew, the new crew would continue the strike. Word was passed in the employment offices in town that the strike was on, and a good many strikes were won in this way.

When we launched a campaign to make the employers furnish bedding in the logging camps we had another tactic that worked, rough as it was. We had five man committees to meet the trains, boats, and busses who would ask the workers to give up their blankets after explaining why. Most of the workers would gladly comply but if someone objected we'd collect his regardless. The blankets would be heaped up in large piles and burned on the streets. It wasn't very long until the signs at the employment offices asking for workers with their own blankets disappeared, simply because there were no more men with their own blankets.

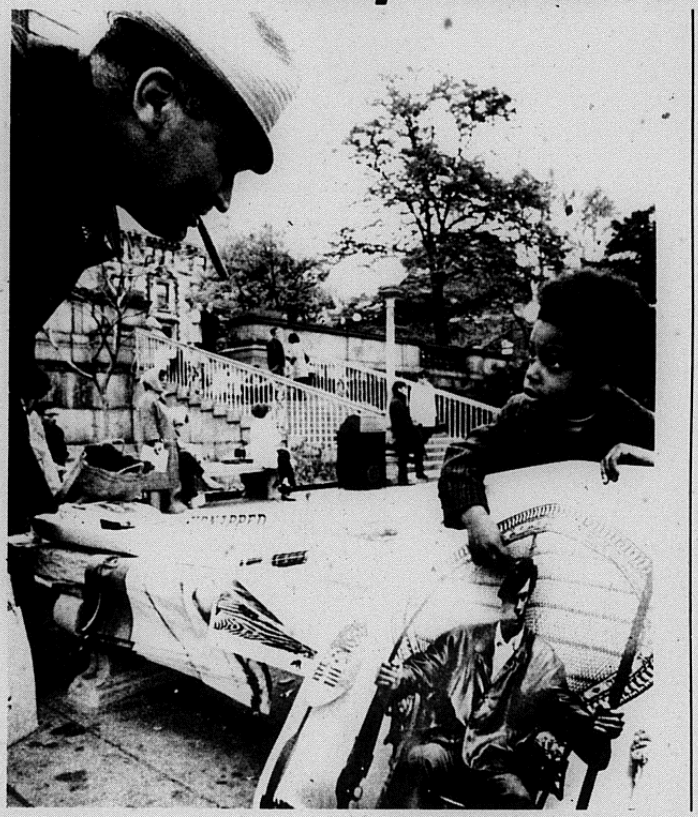
The Wobblies often stated our non-political stand yet there were times when we used political action. Once for instance, some five thousand members of the I.W.W. stood shoulder to shoulder in Seattle, Washington, and lined up on both sides of the street wearing huge buttons on which was inscribed "Free Tom Mooney". This was on the occassion of President Wilson's visit to Seattle in 1919. Judging from the look on his face when he saw the big line-up of working men with those buttons I would say that he got the message.

In the winter of 1914-15 I saw some 150 men living in one bunk house with no showers. The wages were 26 dollars per week for a sixty hour week. Thanks to the actions of the I.W.W., by 1917 the Pacific Coast logger was the best paid, best fed, and best housed worker in the United States.

We were short on theory, true enough, and we died as an organization as a result, but let no man say that we didn't make great and lasting gains for labor. Briefly they were: the eight hour day, clean camps, and decent wages. It took an awful lot of struggle to do these things and many a Wobblie paid with his life. Lots of us were blacklisted, jailed, run out of towns, and otherwise persecuted.

There are still some members left of the once gallant I.W.W. but they are a shadow of their former selves. Most of us of the Big Bill Haywood and Joe Hill era are dead and gone or have defected to communist countries. What is left of that once great organization has now degenerated into just another anti-Communist group with very few members. Such is the history of the class struggle: Change is the order of the day.

Huey Newton Is Free



By Tom Cleaver
From the Guardian

OAKLAND, Calif. – Huey Newton, black America's best known revolutionary leader, is a free man – at least temporarily.

The Black Panther party minister of defense, instrumental in forming the revolutionary black organization in 1966, was freed on $50,000 bail Aug. 5 after serving nearly three years in prison on trial and after conviction for allegedly killing an Oakland policeman.

The California court of appeals overturned his involuntary manslaughter conviction and 2-to-15 year prison sentence in a surprise decision May 29. On July 29, the state supreme court upheld the lower court.

Newton, 28, will go on trial a second time Sept. 25 in connection with the death of policeman John Frey. In his first eight-week trial, which ended in conviction Sept. 8, 1968, Newton was tried on murder charges, though convicted on lesser charges of involuntary manslaughter. In his new trial, Newton can only be tried for involuntary manslaughter, making it quite possible the Panther leader will go free.

At issue in the court reversal was the decision that the original trial judge failed to properly instruct the jury of the fact that the stomach wound Newton received in the encounter with police before Frey's death constituted what is termed a "complete defense." Newton, who maintained he was shot first, would thus have been unconscious and incapable of shooting Frey. Had the judge properly advised the jury, the appeals court held, it was "reasonably probable" Newton would have received either a lighter sentence or been found not guilty.

Sure of acquittal

Speaking at a crowded press conference just after his release, Newton said he was convinced he would be acquitted in the new trial. Attorney Fay Stender amplified further: "The whole country knows now that the only eyewitness to the killing of Frey stated in court that he did not see the face of the killer. There's no identification possible, so the state has no case."

Chief attorney Charles Garry is of the opinion the second trial will never be held because the state lacks evidence.

It took a week to acquire the money for Newton's bail – which was raised entirely by Garry's law firm. No bail bondsman in the Bay Area would underwrite the bail. "We hope the people who believe in Huey will reimburse us for this," Garry said.

Newton appeared to be in excellent health and quite hearty after 33 months in prison. Prominently displayed on his shirt when he was released was a "Soledad Brothers" support pin, in solidarity with the black inmates of Soledad state prison on trial for allegedly killing a guard.

As he emerged from the courthouse, greeted by several hundred supporters and many newsmen, the Panther leader shouted, "Power to the people!"

At the press conference, held in the small law library of Garry's office, Newton answered dozens of questions about his and the party's future.

Future plans

"What are you going to do now?" He replied: "I have no power as an individual. All power lies with the people. I'm going to work to unite all people to bring change, to free all political prisoners, black and white – the Soledad Brothers, the Panther 21, the Panther 14, Los Siete de la Raza and every man placed in a prison – because I feel all prisoners are political prisoners or prisoners of war.... All prisons are concentration camps. There's no such thing as a rehabilitation center in existence in this country."

In other areas Newton said:

– "We will commit an undisclosed number of troops to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam to aid their struggle against the cowardly U.S. government and to demonstrate our revolutionary solidarity with the revolutionary peoples of the world." He would not expand on this statement, other than to say the troops would be Panthers and that he himself would not be among them. "My duty," he commented, "is to remain here and keep the established order scared."

– He announced the Black Panther party is again accepting new members, "after they have proven themselves by working in the community for at least six months." Asked whether the party would ever accept white members, Newton said: "We feel that the problems of racism are such that black people must continue to build their own organizations. We will accept coalitions with any progressive groups who share a common commitment with us. When the time comes that a revolutionary party is formed, we will submerge ourselves in that party as a caucus. Until the time when a revolutionary party is formed, we will remain a black group."

UN plebiscite

– The Panther leader elaborated on the party's call for a UN investigation of conditions in the U.S. "I plan to go before the United Nations as soon as possible," he said, "where we will ask the UN to bring Eldridge Cleaver back for a hearing at the UN to determine his guilt." Cleaver, party minister of information, went into exile in Algiers last year after prison officials indicated he would be returned to prison to serve out the remainder of an old sentence on the basis of parole violation. Newton also said he intends to call on the UN to conduct a plebiscite to enable black Americans to decide for themselves what their fate shall be.

– "I'd like to notify the established order right now," Newton also told the press conference, "that if they do not negotiate the release of George Fitzgerald [a Panther from Los Angeles on death row in San Quentin prison] there will be a political consequence for the established order. We demand that they treat Fitzgerald as the prisoner of war that he is, that they act according to the Geneva Convention – that they either release him or hold him until the end of hostilities, but they will not be allowed to kill him or any other Panther for that matter."

– A reporter asked if he was afraid for his personal safety, a matter of no little conjecture considering the police effort to wipe out the party leadership. "You never get out of life alive," he commented. "Once you face that, you have no more fear of death. The people who are afraid of death are the reactionaries who have built up a psychology that does not allow them to face that fact – which is why the reactionary army never has the power of the revolutionary people."

Revolutionary war

– Asked about the struggle against U.S. imperialism, he responded: "This country cannot fight every country in the world and fight a revolutionary war at home. I hope to do all I can to bring about that revolutionary war. The struggle is coming to a final climax. We must struggle to make the people so conscious of their power that they will rise up and take it."

As for his immediate plans Newton intends to travel through the country, visiting political prisoners where he can and building support for the Soledad Brothers, Los Siete defendants, Panther defendants and party chairman Bobby Seale, on trial on murder charges in Connecticut.

Newton's return to revolutionary activities is bound to have a profound impact on the entire U.S. left as well as the Panther party. He is one of the most respected men on the left in this country. But what he says will not be without controversy. In recent months Newton has condemned acts of "individual terrorism" and "other aspects of petty-bourgeois liberalism" through articles in the party newspaper. He most recently castigated white radicals who refused to become involved in the leadership in the May campus uprising in many areas on the grounds that the student strikes were "liberal acts." In that article he went on to say, "revolutionaries must rid themselves of any elitist notions and work where the mass of people is to be found."

New Haven Railroad

The trial of Lonnie McLucas, a Black Panther charged with murder in a police frame-up, has been such an incredible perversion of justice that people in the movement have begun referring to the New Haven Trial as the New Haven Railroad. Like other political trials in recent years, it seems the facts of the case are irrelevant to the court and only the political beliefs of the defendants are at issue.

First there is the judge, a man named Harold Mulvey, who makes Julius Hoffman look like King Solomon. A few years ago, Judge Mulvey commented on the school system in New Haven by saying, "I think we have a pretty good set of teachers. The only problem that is sticking out now is what to do with these Negroes." In the same statement, Judge Mulvey expressed his belief that there are no real leaders among the Negroes ("Any one who drives a Cadillac has influence") and that in the old days there were many fine Negroes, but today they "have no respect for anyone – not even themselves."

Judge Mulvey's racism has been a major factor in denying Lonnie a fair trial. Of the fifteen jurors selected, twelve are white and all but three are middle-aged. Judge Mulvey refused to consider defense objections to the manner of jury selection in which only 4.5 per cent of the people questioned were black, though New Haven's population is one-third black. Similarly the judge threw out defense motions to allow Huey P. Newton to testify that the Panthers considered the murdered man, Alex Rackley, to have been a party member in good standing, and even if they thought he was an informer, they would not have killed him as the government contends, but would have expelled him.

→4

And then there is the state's prize witness, George Sams, who took the stand after Judge Mulvey denied a defense motion that he be barred for reasons of his mental condition. Sams spent most of his young adult life in correctional institutions where he was classified as a "dangerous mental defective." Dr. Robert Miller, a superintendant at the Fairfield Hills State Mental Hospital, earlier testified that Sams had an "explosive type of personality disorder" and that he exhibited "psychopathic behavior."

Additional insights into Sams' character were provided in testimony by Loretta Luckes and Warren Kimbro, the two former Panthers who have turned state's evidence to avoid the electric chair. Luckes testified that Sams constantly brutalized members of the New Haven chapter and Kimbro said that he was "scared stiff" of Sams.

Sam's testimony has attempted to show that he watched Lonnie McLucas and Kimbro torture and murder Rackley, but he has been so inconsistant that it is hard to piece together a plausible story. Originally Sams said that eight or nine shots were fired into Rackley and that he fired some of those, but he now says only McLucas and Kimbro fired the shots.

Sams claims he had "orders" to shoot McLucas and Kimbro if they failed to follow his orders in shooting Rackley. (He hasn't said who his orders were from). Following the killing of Rackley, he said, he was to travel to Chicago where on orders from the Party he was to kill Fred Hampton, whose name he constantly mispronounced as Hamilton.

Sams also says the killing of Rackley was ordered by Bobby Seale. The Panthers say that Sams is a police agent or he is crazy or both, but that he was the one who killed Rackley. They claim that the trial is an attempt to execute Bobby Seale and to destroy the New Haven Chapter, and the unexpected claims and flourishes which Sams keeps adding to his story seem to bear that out.

However the outcome of Lonnie's trial rests on how a racist judge rules on defense motions and upon the decision of a mainly white middle-aged jury, most of whom believe in capital punishment and none of whom are sympathetic to the Black Panther Party.

Although the Panthers are facing the electric chair, they have retained a high degree of solidarity and faith in the people. As Lonnie McLucas says, "This trial is a political one, because the Black Panther Party is the People's Party, and this trial is only one of many attempts to destroy it and any organization that wants peace, freedom, liberty, and justice from oppression and aggression. So this trial involves the peoples all over the world. I feel that this trial will serve to bring white and black people closer together and unify them, and to this the Black Panther Party says 'Right On.' "

–compiled from movement papers.

weather

On July 26 the Weathermen issued the following, their third communication since going underground (it was postmarked Detroit and stamped with fingerprints):

With other revolutionaries all over the planet, Weatherman is celebrating the 11th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. Today we attack with rocks, riots and bombs the greatest killer-pig ever known to man – Amerikan imperialism.

Everywhere we see the growth of revolutionary culture and the ways in which every move of the monster-state tightens the noose around its own neck.

A year ago people thought it can't happen here. Look at where we've come.

Nixon invades Cambodia; the Cong and all of Indochina spread the already rebelling US troops thin. Ahmed is a prisoner; Rap is free and fighting. Fred Hampton is murdered; the brothers at Soledad avenge – "two down and one to go." Pun and several Weathermen are ripped; we run free. Mitchell indicts 8 or 10 or 13; hundreds of thousands of freaks plot to build a new world on the ruins of honk Amerika.

And to General Mitchell we say: Don't look for us, Dog; We'll find you first.

For the Central Committee, Weatherman Underground

On July 23 a frustrated Federal Government handed down new indictments against 13 Weathermen, charging them with conspiracy to bomb and kill. Ten of the 13 were already fugitives under other Federal or local charges. The Detroit U.S. Attorney said that the indictments are part of a continuing nationwide Justice Department investigation into the activities of Weatherman.

This is the FBI's latest attempt to save face, to show us that they aren't gonna be outsmarted by a bunch of commie-freak-faggot-bomb-crazy kids. Their game is wearing thin, with their incompetence and desperation growing daily more apparent.

Since the indictments there have been:

Three simultaneous explosions at Camp McCoy in Wisconsin (a training center for national guardsmen and reservists).

Bombings at the Presidio (Army installation in San Francisco) and the Armed Forces Police Headquarters in S.F.

Bombing of the Wall St.(N.Y.) branch of the Bank of Amerika by Weathermen (and their third communique).

All these are as yet "unsolved" and there are more every day that the straight press blacks-out for fear of giving someone else the idea.

Three Good Ways

to get the

Outlaw

1. Buy a subscription
   Only five bucks a year
   Send to:
   St. Louis Outlaw
   4285 Olive
   St. Louis, Mo. 63108

2. See your local distributor (or sell it yourself, you keep 10 cents a copy – call 862-9327)
3. Visit your friendly local merchant and buy your copy from:

Left Bank Books
559 N. Skinker

Webster Groves Books
100 W. Lockwood

Bookmark
11050 Olive St. Road

Bookmasters
288 N. Skinker

Akashic Record Shop
6 N. Euclid

Spectrum
124 S. Kirkwood Rd.

Postbellum
219 S. Florissant

Clothes Closet
Big Bend and Lockwood

Cachorka
6380 Delmar

Bergdorf Booksellers
4744 McPherson

Carpenter's News Stand
8th and Olive

Peace Center
6244 Delmar

UMSL Bookstore
8001 Natural Bridge

Washington U. Bookstore
Lindell and Skinker

World News Co.
4 S. Central

Craft Alliance
6640 Delmar

Foxmoor
68 South County Mall

Prodigal Sun
8860 Ladue Rd.

Antelope Freeway
4724 McPherson

Pant Pit
13 S. Jackson
Belleville

Lower Half
1057 S. Brentwood

YOU'LL BLOW YOUR MIND

AT THE SPECTRUM
124 S. Kirkwood Rd.

Fall into the

PANT PIT

and get panced

We now have a head shop too.

Pant Pit
13 S. Jackson
Belleville

Open daily 10:00–7:00
Monday and Friday 10:00–9:00
Sunday–by appointment

Blacks And Whites Unite in Kansas

LNS and Vortex

LAWRENCE, Kansas – Located 30 miles from Kansas City, Lawrence is a typical midwestern "Honor America" town, with a population of 30,000 white citizens, 5000 Blacks, Chicanos and Indians, and 16,000 university students. The town's hierarchy, made up of local businessmen and conservative politicians, threatened by the rising militance of its third world population and by the emergence of a freaky, radicalized student body – has met its minority groups' grievances with repression.

Last spring, black students at Lawrence High School presented a list of demands to school officials, asking for greater participation in school activities, black history courses, and black instructors. For the second consecutive year, their demands were rejected.

When the young black community demonstrated at the high school, they were dispersed by police using clubs, tear gas and Mace. The same night, the Kansas student union burned–$1,500,000 damage. The town was put under curfew with national guardsmen called in by the governor.

For the following three days, the white student community mobilized in support of the black community and in defense of their own turf, actions which resulted in property trashings, burnings, and over 70 arrests. The Lawrence Liberation Front was organized as a center of radical white activity, and the Afro House was established as a center for militant blacks. These two new organizations served as focal points for the mobilized energy of the town's growing movement.

On the night of July 16, police cars with lights out closed in on Afro House, and Rick "Tiger" Dowdell, a black student activist whose life had been threatened on various occasions by Lawrence police, knew it was time to leave. He asked Frankie Cole to drive him to a friend's house. As the car pulled out, the two were immediately followed by several squad cars. Trying to ditch them, Frankie overshot an alley two blocks from Afro House. Rick jumped from the car, headed for the alley, and was shot in the back of the head by Patrolman William Garrett.

Several nights of street fighting followed Dowdell's death. On Friday night a cop was shot in the chest while patrolling in the black community. Meanwhile, in the freak community people were shooting out street lights, turning on fire hydrants, starting trash fires and throwing rocks and bottles at police wherever they showed up.

The black community in Lawrence, Kansas protests the murder of Rick Dowdell.

Early Monday evening, July 20, a fire hydrant was turned on and police came, dispersed the crowd, and shut off the hydrant. Later a Volkswagon was turned over in the middle of the street ready to be burned as a barricade.

At this time, without any warning or hesitation, police charged up the street towards the crowd of 300 people, opened up with tear gas and then began to fire indiscriminately into the crowd. People scattered. One person fell. When others tried to aid him, they were driven back with more tear gas. Nick Rice lay bleeding and dying on Oread Avenue, shot through the head.

On July 23, three hundred white street people marched from Oread Avenue through the downtown area as a memorial to Rick Dowdell and Nick Rice. An hour later, three hundred blacks also marched through the downtown streets bearing Rick's coffin drawn by a farm wagon and two ponies.

Radical Women Define Goals

By Lynn Backus and Patsy O'Connell

As two women involved in Women's Liberation who want a revolution in this society, we are trying to decide what the connections should be between women's struggles and the revolution. We want to talk about three positions which attempt to answer the questions: what kind of revolution, who will make the revolution, and what tactics shall be used to reach those people. We also will describe how we have come to the position we take now.

Briefly the positions are:

(1) Class against class – the marxist position, which holds that sexual oppression is part of the economic oppression and exploitation of working peoples by the few who control this capitalist society. The revolution must be made by the working class through class struggle. *Within the working class* women must struggle for their rights so that the resulting society will not be sexist. Both class and women's struggles are thus necessary to bring forth the complete revolution.

(2) Sex against sex – stated by some radical Women's Liberation groups – for example SCUM. This is the idea that women are in effect a "class," that regardless of economic differences, their lives are really alike – for example most women are homemakers, housewives, mothers, and are oppressed in similar ways. Thus women's liberation may be won through banding together against male chauvinists and societies which are male supremacist. The new society which would result would be truly revolutionary, for it would be the first society in history *not run according to the male standards* which we have always known.

(3) Youth culture against "people over thirty" – There is today a youth culture, which, like women's culture, runs across class lines. Its goal is to free minds. It rejects the materialism of marxian analysis as much as the materialism of our present society, and sees the only real revolution as occurring in people's heads. It is building alternative institutions (free schools, people's parks, communes) to demonstrate that individual people do have power, and to test theories of new life styles.

We, with other women (all of us white, middle-class, and college-educated) formed a liberation group in the early spring called UNDERGROUND WOMEN. We met to talk about our emotions, our fears, our needs. There was no economic problem that brought us together, such as particular feelings of job discrimination. We came together realizing that as women we were alike. When the group started a newspaper, THE UNDERGROUND WOMAN, it was to share this recognition with other women whom we couldn't reach personally. It was composed of carefully written, fairly literate, and *lengthy* articles. The group distributed it on college campuses, in a couple of bookstores, and to friends and women in Women's Liberation.

Meanwhile the group began to change – we were becoming politicized. For if our particular problems were held by most other women, then they weren't really *our* problems – they were society's problems. More and more we talked and thought about social, or *political* solutions to our situation. Women's Liberation was not about adapting ourselves to society; it was inevitably about changing society. We were oppressed – by society. Other peoples were also oppressed by this society. We knew that none of us would be liberated until we all were. We related our struggles to those of blacks and third world people generally. We talked *about* oppressed peoples – so did the underground papers (including women's papers) that we read.

And then some of us began to think about the revolution. After much more reading (mostly pamphlets) and more talking, we saw three possible theories of how the revolution would take place.

At the same time we realized that, strangely enough, we had found very little of this kind of thinking – this kind of explicit analysis into the nature and forces of the revolution and the role of women in it – in the Women's Liberation movement, in its press, or in the underground press generally. None of our favorite papers or Women's Liberation groups seemed to have stated or argued for a position on these issues. And yet it seemed futile and egotistical to keep on writing, meeting, acting, educating – if we were not directed toward a thought-out goal.

What we are trying to say now is that it is necessary for all of us who want a "revolution" to make this analysis. It should not be an *implied* position. A stand should not be unquestioned, inarticulated, unclear. Assumptions are hard to challenge, to test, to prove. Our group was organized, our paper had been written on certain assumptions: that it was important to write and communicate with other women just like ourselves; that liberation of white, middle-class, college-educated women would be the best we could do for the revolution. Most other underground, and Women's Liberation papers seem to operate on a similar assumption. Few articulate it.

From our thinking and reading, the two of us began to feel that Women's Liberation could be achieved most rapidly in conjunction with the class struggle. However we wanted to hear what other people had to say and to see what they were *doing*. So on a trip to Chicago we visited four groups involved in Women's Liberation and the revolution – Rising Up Angry, Young Patriots, Wildcat, and Southside Women's Liberation. Our questions to them were the questions we have asked above. We wanted to see how they thought Women's Liberation related to their struggles for a new society.

The first three groups of men and women all work in North Chicago in white, working class neighborhoods. All the women in the three organizations were in Women's Liberation and the men were conscious of struggling with sexism, equating it with racism in importance. Beyond that each group had a different philosophy of revolution and to whom they should speak.

Rising Up Angry works with young people, using their newspaper as a means of building an organization. Although the kids they reach are city kids, street kids, greasers – it is not only their class interests which are appealed to. RUA definitely sees kids and the counter-culture as a revolutionary force as well. Within RUA women are writing and speaking, trying to get women's groups around women's issues, but finding that

→ 10.

Write On

Stuck in High School

Editors:

This letter is meant primarily for high school students, but I would appreciate it if you others would give a listen, too.

I am concerned about the plight of we students stuck in our St. Louis high schools today. There is almost no institution which is inherently more conservative than a private or archdiocesan high school, and the public schools are only a little better.

Students in private high schools are almost totally subject to each and every whim of that school's principal or administrator, while in public schools, the more severely oppressed student has only this country's court system to turn to – high cost, red tape, old judges and the whole ugly ordeal. What this means is that high school students are allowed to practice virtually none of the rights guaranteed them by this country's constitution and bill of rights.

For radical students, this crisis is much more painfully noted. At many schools, hair must be kept chopped in compliance with a 1950 standard. Every morning, students must listen to the never-ending prattle of that voice on the intercom, telling them about a cheerleaders' meeting, choir practice or even of an American Legion meeting to be held that night in the school's auditorium.

Most high school newspapers really are "censored puff sheets" as they have been called, mainly due to the rigid screening techniques set up by the administrations of the different schools. And these are only a few of the outer manifestations of what is basically the one most important principle always present in the back of the administrator's mind – that they are the "divine right" rulers of their schools.

But even these offenses are minor compared with the greatest trespass of human rights practiced regularly in our high schools today. That trespass is the all-pervading farce laughingly referred to as "student government." All high schools have this farce in one way or another. In most high schools, this so-called student government takes the guise of a student council.

With few exceptions, these student councils are only allowed to *suggest* possible changes in the policies of the administrations. In order to keep up the facade which is supposed to make students believe that they actually have something to say about the way their lives are run in high school, the administration usually approves a council "suggestion" every once in a while. Still, the suggestions approved are mainly insignificant and have little to do with the general well-being of the student. It turns out that high school student government is not only useless, but it is an insult to the intelligence present in every student.

Whom can a high school student turn to to help him fight these administrators who have encroached upon his rights to such an unbearable degree? Right now, there is only the biased St. Louis court system for public school people, and there is no one at all for those stranded in private and Katholic highs. What is needed is an *organization* of the oppressed high school students of the St. Louis area; this organization could, with enough support, provide an alternative which public high school people could use and, at the same time, shed the first ray of hope to those of us in private highs.

This is a call for action now. Let us organize *en masse* to find a way to check the almost unlimited power of the high school administrators. United we stand, and divided we're stuck. So, if you're at all interested, or if you have some ideas which would help further this organization – I would really be happy to hear from you.

And this *is* a chance for you to help not only yourself, but *all* your brothers and sisters as well. Once I get some idea of how many of us there are, we could arrange for a meeting place and notifications would be sent to all of you who responded to this article. So send your comments and ideas–and your address if you want to be included– and we'll see if we can't get this thing off the ground.

Tom Lasker
c/o Outlaw
4285 Olive
St. Louis, Missouri 63108

Right On, Nixon!

Brother Outlaws:

It's time to look at President Nixon's acceptance speech of Aug. 8th, 1968:

"When the strongest nation in the world can be tied down for years in a war in Vietnam with no end in sight, when the richest nation in the world can't manage its own economy, when the nation with the greatest tradition of the rule of law is plagued with unprecedented lawlessness, when a nation that has been known for a century of equality of opportunity is torn by unprecedented racial violence, when the President of the U.S. cannot travel abroad or to any major city at home without fear of a hostile demonstration, then it's time for new leadership in America!"

Right on, Nixon!
Crystal

Women's Rights

To the Outlaws:

The by-now familiar argument voiced most recently in "No Time For Liberals NOW" (Aug.,1970, Gail Pellett), I find gravely in error, and gravely in danger of jeopardizing the success of the entire women's rights movement. The article's contention is precisely the opposite of my own. It contends that NOW (National Organization for Women) may damage the cause of women's rights, by "diluting or deradicalizing" the force of other (more radical) women's groups; NOW is at best a doubtful ally, for it is no radical group, the author tells us (with middling accuracy); its orientation is "liberal"–in the pejorative sense–for its members "accept the capitalist framework," failing to see that nothing short of "a revolutionary socialist transformation" will lift oppression of all kinds, racial, economic, as well as sexual. In actuality, NOW's official stance is somewhat farther left of center than these criticisms suggest, and by no means are all its members ardent capitalists. But, for excellent reasons, NOW's strategy, in its battle for women's rights, for the most part may indeed be called "liberal."

The cause of women's rights not only *can* make large progress while remaining non-radical, but it *must* remain so (certainly for the time being). An organization like NOW, you see, provokes extreme hostility from surprisingly few people, and with not too great difficulty can gather much-needed popular support. "Working within the system" (heresy, I know)–by petitioning, addressing local groups, bringing legal action–happens to be highly effective at this stage of the women's liberation movement, just as it was ten years ago, in the early days of black civil rights reform.

But radical women all too easily, all too often, damage the cause. Some groups (not in St. Louis) have made women's lib the laughing stock of the nation–Spiro Agnew's counterpart–which is bad enough. Worse, radical women have alienated very large numbers of people. The same bank clerks, construction workers, typists, housewives, teachers, or what have you, whom NOW can persuade, are the very people who find radical principles "crazy," "anti-American," "shocking," "immoral," etc., etc., etc. To combine the two–combine advocacy of women's rights with advocacy of revolutionary principles–is to sign the death warrant of women's rights, in this decade anyway. (Do you really know how few committed radicals there are? Have you forgotten how vast is the opposition?)

Women's rights groups must distinguish the issues, and must choose between them–like it or not. Most of the radicals of my acquaintance fail to make an essential distinction; there is the political activism which works for revolutionary change at every level of society, in every arena of human activity–on the one hand; and, on the other hand, there is the short-range activism, working for one specific goal: open housing, for instance, an end to the war and to American imperialism, an end to the wholesale pollution of our environment, an end to the exploitation of migrant workers. Or an end to the exploitation of women. (Where would César Chavez be now, had he struck not against a certain few capitalists in a limited area of California, but against capitalism throughout the entire country?)

Yes ultimately, all the short-range goals are no more than separate parts of one all-encompassing whole, and final success for each and all must come about–someday– by major social change. But now, at this point in time, much can be done, and each separate end has its separate and appropriate means. NOW employs "liberal" means, which are the only genuinely effective means, at this period in our history, to advance the cause of women's rights.

Sincerely,
Sherwood Mitchell Novick
(Member, St. Louis chapter, N.O.W.)

Insurance and Repair Costs Too High?

By Radical Research Group

Between 1962 and 1970, auto repair costs and auto insurance rates have both risen 70 per cent. Everyone who owns a car knows this all too well. And now, St. Louis car owners have been told to expect insurance premiums to increase again within the next six months.

Premiums will go up, says the Globe Democrat's Charles Oswald, because of the $1.65-an-hour wage increase won by auto mechanics in Teamsters Local 777 on August 19. Auto dealers have already passed the increased cost of labor (plus of course their added profit) on to consumers in the form of higher repair costs. In six months, consumers will be hit again by the rising cost of insurance. And, implies the Globe, the completely unreasonable demands of organized labor are responsible for these price increases, just as they are responsible for inflation in general.

But it is not quite that simple. Between 1965 and mid-1969, as the Globe itself reports in the same article, there has been a steady rise in the cost of replacement parts: Ford parts increased 36.4 per cent; Chevrolet parts, 19.9 per cent; and Plymouth, 22.5 per cent. "To purchase all the individual parts for a 1969 Chevrolet two-door Impala with a list price of $3,500," Arthur C. Mertz, general counsel for the National Association of Independent Insurers, told a Senate Subcommittee last year, "would cost about $7,500." And that just includes the price of parts. If you add the cost of labor for assembling the car, the total cost for a $3,500 car jumps to $15,000.

At these prices major auto companies make huge profits from selling replacement parts. The market for parts is good, because the companies design cars so they will break down quickly and require costly repairs.

The insurance industry, which is trying to convince consumers that *it* is not responsible for rising costs, is putting the blame squarely on the auto industry. Cars are designed, says the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety, so that when a Ford Maverick, the cheapest American made car, crashes into a barrier at ten miles an hour, the total repair bill comes to $427.35, or twenty per cent of the car's original price. That's at ten miles an hour, for a cheap car. Repair costs for more expensive cars are, of course, much higher. "In Florida" says Business Week, insurers are "backing a bill that the state legislature is expected to pass in the next few weeks. It says that all cars sold in Florida after January 1, 1973, must carry guarantees that they can withstand five mile per hour crashes into a barrier front and rear with no damage whatsoever."

This is not to argue that insurance companies are good and the automobile industry is bad. In Massachusetts, for example, where the "no fault" insurance plan will go into effect–requiring insurance companies to pay the costs of an accident regardless of who is at fault–insurance companies have threatened to stop doing business in the state. By eliminating the need for costly investigations, the "no fault" plan would drastically reduce the cost of insurance.

While consumers are not sure who they should blame, one fact is obvious: the cost of owning an automobile–original purchase price, repair costs and insurance–keep skyrocketing. It is convenient to blame labor for these rising costs. Indeed, it is in the interests of the mass media to blame workers for inflation, since publishers are part of the corporate ruling class and most of their income comes from major corporate advertisers. But while it may be convenient, it is not accurate.

The major cause of inflation is not the rising cost of labor but the policies of corporations who charge as much as possible for goods that are as cheap as possible to produce. While fights between the auto industry about who is most responsible for rising costs are interesting to watch, the real answer is they both are.

The St. Louis Outlaw is an independent, radical newspaper published semi-monthly, affiliated with KDNA Radio, 102.5 FM. Offices are at KDNA Radio, 4285 Olive, St. Louis, Missouri 63108. Phone 652-6161.

To be considered for publication, articles and letters must carry the signature and phone number of the author, but names will be withheld on request.

Cost per issue: 25 cents. Subscriptions are $5 per year, free to GIs and prisoners. Distributors are needed, call 862-9327 for details.

Call 647-9379 for advertising information.

CACHORKA

CACHORKA
HEAD SHOP

6380 Delmar

Hours:Mon-Sat 11:00 a.m. - 11:00 p.m.

BLACKLIGHTS,POSTERS,
Incense,Candles,
Jewelry,pipes,Paper
& Asst. Paraphenalia,Leather

■ NEW AT CACHORKA
New selection of Maxi and Mini dresses
Patriotic Papers

Hayden on Jailbreak: Bold Move for Justice

By Tom Hayden
Berkeley Tribe/Liberation News Service

SAN RAFAEL, Calif. – It has taken a seventeen year-old warrior with guns to bring justice into an American courtroom at last. Jonathan Jackson, warrior for his people, put repression on trial with his opening remarks to the court: "This is it gentlemen. I've got an automatic weapon, everybody freeze."

And before this frozen scene, as frozen as any historic tableau, James McClain placed his hand on his gun and offered his testimony: "Take these handcuffs off me, I've been in San Quentin for years and I want to be a free man, so help me God." And then: "We are the revolution, free the Soledad Brothers by 12:30 tomorrow."

And so began a new stage of combat against repression. These were the first prisoners of war to attempt liberating themselves and others with guns in hand, consciously deciding that death in struggle is better than life in solitary. That they fell minutes later killed by maniacs who would rather unleash a slaughter than allow their system to be defied makes little difference. They strode beyond the experience of Watts, Detroit, beyond even the most romantic fantasies of young whites. In death they redefined life. Where they fell we begin.

The reactionaries are covering the truth in this event quicker than they covered the corpses. The warden calls these men hoodlums and criminals. In the words of the yellow press, their lives were "a sisyphus of human violence, seemingly ordained to conclude in an incident of fatal violence." McClain, after all, had a prior record of assaulting a policeman. Jonathan Jackson, the "good student" with no criminal record, is passed off as a case of extreme family loyalty. Even opinions in "enlightened" radical circles have been slow to grasp the positive significance of this event.

Many people unconsciously echo the theory, put forward by a University of California reasearcher, that young blacks are pschycologically bent on suicidal confrontation. Writers like Julius Lester mourn that Panther-style rhetoric fires the fuel of anger to self-destructive extremes. Some ask, why should they be so desperate and irrational when the release of Huey Newton has just proven that the system can be budged. Even if the desperation is understandable, why do they adopt such an insane plan.

First, what about their escape plot – was it so irrational? Suppose they had driven to the San Francisco airport, demanded a flight to Cuba or Algeria and taken their hostages with them promising their safe return when the plane landed and the Soledad Brothers were freed.

Impossible? – not in the context of recent skyjackings and kidnappings.

In fact the only apparent reason they were killed was because individual guards did not follow their superior's orders to avoid a shoot-out. If the police could control themselves a bit more, if they had followed the desires of the now-dead judge, we might have witnessed the successful jailbreak-kidnap-skyjack-prisoner exchange.

John Clutchette, George Jackson, and Fleeta Drumgo

Second, whatever the exact plans were, in fact any such escape plot is quite rational when compared to the possibilities of an unknown prisoner "escaping" through the legal system. The prisoners live under the arbitrary and sadistic rule of the Adult Authorities – a body which is virtually beyond pressure.

The case of the Soledad Brothers only shows the surface of oppression to the public. Quite frankly, it has gathered a margin of interest because George Jackson just happens to be a brilliant writer, not because the people know there is a real movement to shatter the prison system. Even this notorious trial has little to do with the three brothers' possible liberation. They are in prison for as long as the Adult Authority plans to keep them. The trial is only about sentencing them to death in addition to everything else.

As for Huey's release, few people should be fooled into a new confidence in the legal system. Huey was released because of enormous public pressure and because the authorities feared an outbreak of Latin-American type kidnappings here.

Third, it is insulting to consider these men as "cons" with "nothing to lose." This cannot explain the role of Jonathan Jackson, the young man with the open future, the good grades. Certainly he was not cornered and driven to violence in the ordinary fashion. Jonathan Jackson thought the entire plan through while he was enjoying his life. Nor can the "desperate men" theory explain the words and deeds of the other two. Both must have known that the risk of death was more an immediate escape than prison. Common self interest cannot explain their willingness to die. Nor does it explain their testimony in court, "We are the revolutionaries."

Why did they want photos taken if not to communicate their message in example to others? Why did they swear to God their desire for freedom? Their act was not taken because they had nothing to lose but because they had everything to win. They believed in justice, they had a vision, they felt solidarity with other people. They were willing to sacrifice their lives as a contribution to a better world, rather than waste their lives in acceptance of the status quo.

So we have seen the arrival of people who somehow live beyond death, who know, as Huey said upon release, "You never get out of life alive." Eldridge calls us "Kamikaze madmen who step on the stage of history when the good and responsible people have failed." When people are prisoners of war they will act like warriors.

Why do we think it normal for men to die senselessly in Vietnam but abnormal to die for real values here in America? Why do we accept slave revolts when they appear in history books, but reject them when they happen before our eyes?

In whatever way we act we should be grateful to these men for being pioneers who set a standard for what is possible. Let them be called "adventurer" if necessary. It is the adventurer after all who charts and masters the unknown. Their confrontation with the state is only suicidal for the state.

If the rulers do not free our prisoners of war and cease their universal aggression, if they do not make peaceful changes possible, then it is tragically clear that all of America will be taken hostage in the vast jailbreak ahead.

Prisons Produce Revolutionaries

Angela Davis recently became the third woman to make the FBI's ten most wanted list. She was named in a murder and kidnapping warrant stemming from a gun battle in San Rafael, California, where an attempt was made to capture a judge and hold him in order to exchange him for the Soledad Brothers, three black men charged with the murder of a white prison guard in Soledad Prison. Miss Davis had been active in publicizing the case and raising money for their defense. She was also alleged to have purchased the weapons used in the San Rafael shootings.

Whether she was involved in the courthouse incident is a matter of conjecture, but she was not alone in her defense of the Soledad brothers. Linus Pauling, Jean Genet, Jessica Mitford, and Benjamin Spock, to name just a few, have lent their support to the defense of Soledad brothers in an attempt to prevent another atrocity in the long history of injustices done to black people in America.

The death of the white guard followed by three days the murder of three black prisoners. Racial hostility runs high at Soledad, fostered and encouraged by the prison authorities. For almost two years, prisoners in the maximum security wing have been held in rigid racial segregation. But despite the extreme tension, on January 13, 1970, a racially mixed group of prisoners was taken to a new recreation yard. Prison authorities, knowing a fight would erupt, made no moves to prevent violence. No guard went with the prisoners into the yard, but one guard, widely known for his marksmanship, stood armed with a carbine rifle in the gun tower overlooking the yard.

What happened next is unclear. According to prison authorities a scuffle broke out. The guard immediately fired four shots, killing three black prisoners and wounding one white. No alarm whistle was sounded, no warning shot was heard, no tear gas was thrown. The grand jury, echoing the district attorney, called these murders "justifiable homocide."

The shooting of the prisoners had outraged the Soledad inmates–black, white, and chicano. More than half went on a hunger strike to protest the killings. Minutes after the verdict of justifiable homicide was broadcast over television a guard was found dead. The deputy superintendant of the prison labeled the killings an act of revenge for the earlier murders. The one hundred forty-six inmates of the wing who had been out of their cells, were immediately locked in isolation. With promises of early parole and threats of long confinement, the district attorney and prison officials interrogated the inmates.

After eight days of pressure they claimed to have found the "guilty" men. George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo, and John Wesley Cluchette were selected as suspects. Not too surprisingly, the three men charged were all considered to be revolutionaries who like Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver became revolutionaries while serving time in prison.

If Cluchette and Drumgo are found guilty, they will probably receive life sentences. Jackson has been under a life sentence ever since he was convicted for another man's theft of $70 a decade ago. If he is found guilty he will face the gas chamber.

When Jackson was 15 he had a slight accident with his father's car. Although his father paid the damages and no one pressed charges, he was sent to a reform school for driving without a license. Three years later, he made a down payment on a motorbike which turned out to have been stolen. His mother had the receipt and showed it to the police, but Jackson was sent back to reform school this time for theft.

While in reform school, Jackson learned to be a meat cutter and got a job shortly after being placed on probation. Soon he earned enough to buy a second-hand car. One night, a friend he had invited for a ride ordered him to stop at a gas station, went inside and stole $70. Then he told Jackson to drive away. Shortly afterward, the two men were arrested. Though the white filling station attendant was willing to testify in court that Jackson hadn't been involved in the theft, the public defender, the only lawyer he could afford, decided that with his reform school record he should plead guilty. At the age of 18, Jackson was given one year to life.

That was ten years ago and he has never been free.

Angela Davis

Instead, authorities at Soledad and San Quentin where he's served time have come to regard him as a trouble-maker. His "troublesome" conduct includes refusing to be segregated in the back row of a San Quentin television room, arguing with a teacher in a prison history class, arguing with a prison barber who was cutting his natural shorter than he wanted (his parole board specifically referred to that incident when refusing to terminate his sentence), and recently he has been ordering revolutionary literature to be sent to his cell.

The case of the Soledad brothers is not unique. Throughout the prisons of America there are men and women being held for crimes they didn't commit. When the oppressive conditions of prison life are challenged, they are easy scapegoats for punishment, and in cases like this they are whisked away to the gas chamber.

It is no wonder that in situations like that of the Soledad brothers, men become revolutionaries, for they know more about "due process" and working "within the system" than anyone. None of us can consider ourselves free until all falsely acused and convicted prisoners of America are freed.

Urban Guerrillas Wage Revolu

What's A Public Safety Advisor?

Dan Mitrione

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay (LNS) – Police are swarming in the streets of Montevideo, granted complete freedom by a 20-day suspension of all civil rights of the Uruguayan people, in the wake of the kidnapping of Dan A. Mitrione. He was executed on August 10 by the Tupamaros, the Uruguayan urban guerrilla outfit which the U.S. sent him to destroy.

Press censorship has been broadened here to forbid full news coverage of the Mitrione kidnapping, although newspapers are already barred from referring to the Tupamaros by name and must please the government to retain their licenses.

Political demonstrations are illegal in Uruguay as are most strikes, although bitter workers clash repeatedly with troops and police for striking despite the law, and a middle class ruined by inflation is beginning to look for radical solutions.

Real political opposition to the U.S.-backed government has, of course, been forced underground. And the U.S. is anxious to exterminate that underground.

Dan A. Mitrione, formerly Police Chief of Richmond, Indiana, and suspected agent of the CIA, has been working on exterminating revolutionary movements since 1960.

His employer for the last decade has been the United States Agency for International Development – the U.S.'s main "foreign aid" program – that has provided him with cover as he has moved from Belo Horizonte and Rio de Janeiro on to Montevideo.

No one denies that Mitrione was in Uruguay to fight the Tupamaros as a "Public Safety Advisor." The U.S. foreign aid program stations teams in 15 other Latin American nations to assist the local military and police in crushing rebellions. All are "Public Safety Advisors."

Apparently, the United States did not consider Mitrione personally worth the 150 political prisoners whose freedom the Tupamaros demanded in exchange for his release unharmed. State Department officials in Washington conceded that the U.S. did not seriously press the Uruguayan government to release the prisoners, and passively awaited Mitrione's execution.

Naturally, the White House was all tears when its "Public Safety Advisor" was finally discovered dead in a parked car in a workingclass district of Montevideo. A statement decried the "despicable act" of "callous murder" and said the incident underlined the "essential inhumanity" of the Tupamaros. Calling Mitrione's execution a "cold-blooded crime against a defenseless human being," the White House vowed that his "devoted" work would remain "an example for free men everywhere."

Meanwhile, in Montevideo, Pacheco Areco – the dictator who refused to bargain with his underground opponents – expressed his shock at "this inhuman and traitorous episode."

"The defense of our government of law is the supreme duty of all Uruguayans," he declared in the capital, and denied that the Tupamaros were anything but "common criminals." Now that the "law" in Uruguay says that the Uruguayans have absolutely no rights, it is doubtful that Pacheco Areco's oratory found many takers.

Instead, people here are trying hard to get a clear picture of the events of the last few days at a time when the officially-sanctioned press is more useless than ever. When Pacheco Areco and his Congress declared a national day of mourning for Dan Mitrione and closed all stores, schools, banks, and government offices, there was no sign of sorrowful mass parades or memorial services in Mitrione's honor.

But the police, unencumbered by legality, are having a field day rounding up "suspected Tupamaros."

AID and the Third World

From Hard Times

One result of the belief that most wars in the world today are "police actions" is AID's [United States Agency for International Development] Office of Public Safety, dedicated to international police-military cooperation and the development of national police forces as the "first line of defense" against existing or potential insurgencies. Public Safety is a Third World-wide program to foster "an atmosphere of confidence in law and order" – as its own propaganda proclaims.

The Public Safety Advisor plays a limited direct role in the counter-insurgency and "neutralization" aspects of the police and para-military work. He serves more as a supporting fixture than a crucial component. The heavier stuff has been handled, until recently, through the CIA operative on the provincial level who hold the Office of Special Assistant to the Ambassador (OSA). Besides channeling intelligence gathered by the Special Police to the Embassy and military headquarters, the OSA man directly advises the Special Branch and chooses targets and actions, based on that intelligence, for the Provisional Reconnaissance Units. These PRUs are elite, highly paid, and have provided the manpower for the notorious "Phoenix" terror campaign designed to "neutralize" the NLF infrastructure in Vietnam. Each PRU has his own American–an intelligence analyst and tactical advisor.

Operating between the Special Branch and the PRU on the one hand, and the routine support operations of the National Police on the other, are the Field Forces who engage in light combat operations, perime security and crowd control. The Field Forces described in one AID memo as the "primary action of the police intelligence system." They are suppo maintain security in those areas under n

owd

was

Hue to

rebellion th

Premier Ky. Th

wrecked Saigon pa

Buddhist opposition.

Throughout the rest of hird World and notably in Latin America the Office a similarly low profile but propo re crucial role in promoting the effectiv nt

History Of The Tupamaros

By Stasia Madrigal
From the Guardian

It was on the evening of July 1, 1968, that the Tupamaros first brought themselves to the attention of the whole Uruguayan nation. That evening, minutes before the Uruguayan President Pacheco was to deliver a nationwide radio and TV speech, four heavily armed persons in uniforms of the Republican guard, turned off the transmitter of Radio Ariel, a station owned by a prominent right wing politician. A station guard, unharmed, was removed from the building. Then three bombs placed at the base of the antenna blew up the station. No one was injured in the resulting explosion.

On August 7, 1968, the Tupamaros kidnapped presidential advisor and president of the State Telephone Enterprise (UTE), Ulysses Pereira Reverbel, a rightist politician. In a written document, the Tupamaros warned that "reactionary violence will be answered with revolutionary violence. Our custody of Pereira will guarantee the physical integrity of our companions and all those being persecuted today. He will be released safe and sound when the leaders of our movement esteem it convenient." On August 11, Pereira, heavily drugged with pentothal, was found inside a jeep.

On the morning of December 13, 1968, seven bombs exploded in seven different buildings in the city of Montevideo. Among them were two banks and the homes of two bank directors.

On February 14, 1969, a group of armed men assaulted the Monty Financial Company in Montivideo, taking with them the accounting books and other documents.

On October 8, 1969, in homage to the second anniversary of the death of Che Guevera, about 40 Tupamaros disguised as members of a funeral cortege entered the city of Pando; 21 miles from Montevideo. In a period of 10 minutes, they attacked the city's police station, fire department, telephone exchange and assaulted the city's four banks, taking a total estimated between $240,000 and $400,000.

On March 8, 1970, International Women's Day, a group of Tupamaros freed 13 women being held in prison as suspected members of that organization. Not one shot was fired in freeing the women.

On May 11, 1970, two men in police uniforms intervened in what seemed to be a street quarrel between two women in front of a Navy prison post. Then the two men and two women walked past the sentry box into the prison. Next, 40 to 50 people surrounded the grounds, overtook two of the sentries (the third was a Tupamaro) and entered the prison. While one part of the crowd locked up 30 Navy men, including the captain of the post, in their own jails, others began loading a Navy truck with 758 captured machine guns, Colt pistols, hand grenades and gas projectiles. On the walls, the assailants painted the by-now classic five-pointed star with a "T" in the center.

These characteristic activities have endowed the Tupamaros with a legendary reputation as Uruguay's armed urban revolutionary movement that has succeeded in foiling all the efforts of the police, armed forces and security agents, along with their U.S. military advisors.

The legend first began in 1965 when Uruguayan police started blaming the Tupamaros for several political assassinations and acts of sabotage. But the birth of the Tupamaros as an organization goes back to 1963 and 1964. The MLN (National Liberation Movement) insignia first appeared in 1964. However, this is the most obscure and little known period of their history; in fact, their entire movement is shrouded in mystery.

For obvious reasons, almost nothing is known of their internal organization, the identity of their leaders and the number of their militants. The Tupamaros do not have their own press. However, the organization has answered written questionnaires on two occasions. Most of what we know of their organization and strategy comes from these sources.

The shunning of polemics and rhetoric is part of the "Tupamaros style." In one of the questionnaires, a Tupamaro said: "The differenc he revolutionary organizations is ore on manifestos, on the pu on revolution in order to prep at revolutionary conditions. T ha basically it is revolutiona te revolutionary situations. hi Castro's guerrillas generat ions i Cuba."

Of their internal or ow that they operate in cells of t people who use pseudonyms. The true each cell member is unknown to the othe group and one cell knows nothing of the ope or identity of another cell. "Nobody knows ho many cells or members there are," say the Tupamaros. "The movement is not a closed one; it is growing but it selects new members very carefully. We are a broad movement, including Catholics and Marxists. We prefer not to describe ourselves with any 'ism.'"

From the types of actions the Tupamaros have carried out we know that a considerable number of them are women. We know that the Tupamaros are experts in the use of automatic weapons, disguises, explosives, radio and TV electronic systems and commando tactics. According to the Tupamaros: "Armed struggle is a technical phenomenon that requires technical knowledge. Improvisation in the struggle is paid for heavily by the loss of lives and defeats. All vanguard movements should know how to technically channel the people's violence against oppression in order to obtain their objective with the least amount of sacrifice of lives."

We know that the Tupamaros can drive heavy trucks and pilot airplanes. They are skilled doctors, surgeons and nurses, with their own clandestine operating rooms. They are expert economists and accountants capable of analyzing complex financial data and lawyers capable of making profound studies of all types of legal documents.

The Tupamaros live by a strict revolutionary moral code, part of which reads: "A revolutionary militant

utionary Struggle In Uruguay

role of national police forces in defending US and local elite interests. Through the activities of the OPS, the notion of the US as world policeman is transformed from a metaphor to a reality.

OPS traces itself back to the first Indochina programs in 1955, but the United States has engaged in a police-support role at least since the end of World War II, particularly in Germany, Japan, and the Truman Doctrine countries, Turkey and Iran. From rather humble, supplemental beginnings, the Office of Public Safety has attained a special status within the AID administration, with considerable autonomy and powers of review over the other AID programs as they relate to political developments.

Public Safety's unique status and privilege is rooted in the shift under the Kennedy brothers to developing an invincible counterinsurgency capability for coping with wars of national liberation. Institutions and programs from the Green Berets to the Peace Corps were initiated under the premise that the struggle against international communism would be lost or won in the arena of the Third World. After communism lost, "internal stability" would become the watchword of the New Frontier. At the foreign assistance hearings of 1965, AID director David Bell sketched the rationale for OPS:

"Plainly, the United States has very great interests in the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere of law and order under humane civil concepts and control. When there is a need, technical assistance to the police f developing nations to meet their responsibilities omotes and protects these US interests."

The "humane, civil concepts" advocated by AID are ly utilitarian. During the recent "election" campaign e Dominican Republic, dozens were killed on the by the police. This summer, the Organization of an States meeting was moved to Washington of the propensity of the Dominican police to to crowds, violating the Public Safety maxim oviding "martyrs" to the Left. In Columbia, on

gifts, including police
op
same
upported
investment
official violence
of human sensors,
mobile strike units and Vietnam spin-offs to
eli rilla movement.

umbia is Guatemala, where the
pri law and order are United Fruit

act in accordance with the
d defends in political life. It is
no revolutionary ideology. The
ev as a revolutionary."

he Tupamaros expropriated
ied out sporadic actions in
pped convoys of trucks
hem and later distributed
of the "cantegriles,"

grown into a strong
ng with remarkable
almost daily press
finance their own
movement, simply by taking wha ey need in money, medicine, arms and equipment from the bourgeoisie.

"The purpose of these expropriations," explain the Tupamaros, "is to finance a revolutionary apparatus capable of making social transformations for the benefit of the people. It would be useless to distribute these expropriations among a handful of people. This would mean bread today and hunger tomorrow. The bulk of the population would not benefit from this. Therefore, we prefer to use all our resources to finance an apparatus that will wage a serious struggle to change the system. This means great expenditures and sacrifices."

(To be continued)

A Brazilian newspaper quoted a former Uruguayan secret police chief as having said that U.S. "police advisor" Dan Mitrione "used torture" in his function as trainer of Uruguayan police forces. . . .On August 13 some 500 students demonstrated in downtown Montivideo in memory of a communist student leader killed two years ago by police. On the same day firebombs exploded in two banks in the suburb of Pocitos.

---

and asorted comprador elites. A Mexican journalist describes the Guatemalan police as "aggressive and incompetent" with a basic repertoire of tortures including electric shocks and rubber truncheons. The new Minister of "Gobernacion" commented recently that new AID agreements would be welcome in "strengthening our security system and combatting delinquency." Under the rubric of Public Safety, AID would have the police become aggressive and competent and in Venezuela OPS successfully overcame a local tradition that made the police subject to manslaughter charges for shooting students and other "Communists."

In Brazil, former Public Safety trainees hold positions such as Director of Training or Director of Investigations in several large states. The scope of the program has increased enormously since the pro-US coup in 1964. AID boasts that it has trained over 100,000 police over the same period that the Brazilian economy has been ripped off by US firms, including Hanna Mining, Pfizer Drugs, and Standard Oil. Brazil has been and continues to be one of the largest recipients of Public Safety funds, nearly $8 million since 1959 or more than 20 percent of the total spent in Latin America.

In the event of a political crisis large amounts of highly sophisticated equipment, especially telecommunications, vehicles, and lethal and non-lethal armaments, are rushed to third world countries sometimes funded by the Department of Defense or the CIA. ("In order to deal with the dynamics of internal security situations," AID administrator Bell explained at another point in his testimony, "the Public Safety program has developed and utilized methods to deliver to threatened countries in a matter of days, urgently needed assistance including training, equipment, and technical advice.") This capacity has been exercised several times over the past few months. In both Columbia and the Dominican Republic, rush orders of vehicles and arms were sent down just before their respective elections in which the US had a special interest in seeing who won. In the Dominican Republic, Balaguer even used AID trucks to transport his campaign nd the country. In South Korea in 1968, emonstrations against the third-term decision of President Chung Hee Park were met with national police vehicles that still had the AID stickers on them.

In actual practice, OPS stresses the need for developing countries to have large amounts of the latest gadgetry. According to a report from a Chief (US) Public Safety Advisor in Venezuela, the host country had spent over a five year period, "the equivalent of some $6 million for US-manufactured items recommended specifically by the Public Safety Advisors." OPS has, in fact, helped to set up a police-industrial network. The Technical Services Division constitutes an important part of OPS's mandate: "the responsibility for developing new equipment and for modifying existing items to meet special field needs."

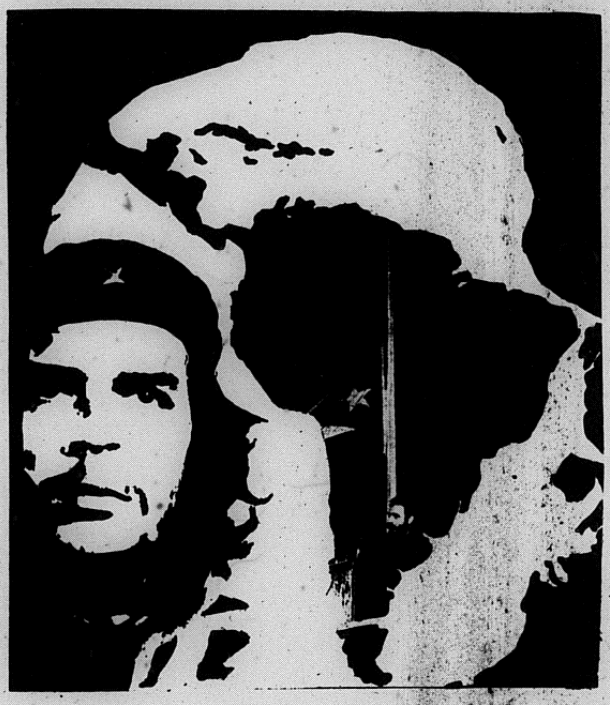
OPS cites its real strategy at Congressional hearings: not to give equipment to recipient countries, but to train foreign personnel to need US equipment by standardizing vehicles and electronic gear to require purchases from the US even after the Advisors leave.

One important asset in the campaign to orient Third World police to the US ideology and supplies, is the International Police Academy in Washington, D.C. Due to Robert Kennedy's benevolence after the Bay of Pigs and the independent status of OPS, a special school, the Inter-American Police Academy, was set up in Panama in 1962 (by classified Presidential directive), near the Green Beret base at Fort Gulick. The next year it was moved to Washington and appropriately renamed. To date, more than 3,000 carefully screened ranking police officers have gone through a variety of courses that all contain a high dosage of "Marxism" as interpreted by the FBI, as well as technical and administrative training from setting up a beat system to running through mock riots and demonstrations in the game room known as the Police Operations Control Center.

Besides channeling ideological and technical training to Third World police, the whole OPS program has provided a laboratory for testing concepts, programs and weapons. General Du Puy, in a graduation address in October 1968, pointed out how well the police military coordination stressed by the academy has come to be practiced at home: The military now share intelligence on "subversive groups" with the police, he said. After Martin Luther King's assassination, military command posts were set up at metroploitan or precinct police stations in the US. He also cited the incentives of shortened Armed Forces service used to recruit military personnel to join local police forces, and the way that police forces are giving week-long Army training courses in civil disturbances control. Another example of the OPS fostered police-military partnership is the "Civil Disturbance Steering Committee" which has been meeting weekly after the riots in Detroit and Newark in 1967, and is made up of officials from all the military services and the Justice Department. Army teams have been sent to several hundred cities to study with local police street layouts and vital installations. This and other information is stored in the Pentagon's "domestic war room."

The International Police Academy itself has been directly involved in domestic policing. According to a former student, in service training once included mingling with local and federal counterparts in controlling the "counter-inaugural" demonstrations in Washington in January 1969. Maybr Daley reportedly turned down a request of the State Department to send IPA trainees to Chicago for the Democratic Convention. Another report has it that IPA's Police Operations Control Center was put to domestic use to plot strategy for the Washington police and National Guard during the disorders in response to the closing of Resurrection City (called Insurrection City by OPS officials). In his recommendations to the Kerner Commission in

→ 10



Hasta La Victoria Siempre!

5←

women too are more easily reached through class needs or youth culture.

Young Patriots is a neighborhood organization, interested in getting white working class people together around economic issues. Here again an articulated priority is the struggle against sexism, but the Patriots have found that women respond first to economic issues. They have also discovered that unless the men are also confronted with male chauvinism and women's rights, that it is much harder for the women to change their lives. One immediate tactic is the building of a free health clinic to serve people, to enable them to see that they can get the health care that they deserve, and further to get them organized to demand total health care from public institutions – to demand socialism.

Wildcat organizes working class adults mostly in their 20's and 30's by working with them in their ships, stores, and offices. Wildcat organizes chiefly around the class struggle. Their newspaper is written by and for working class people in a style very different from most underground papers. No long, heavy, abstract, super-literate articles – instead there are short articles with big headlines, many pictures and cartoons.

Wildcat also has begun a paper for women, Wildcat Women, using the same format but dealing with women's issues. In this they appeal to housewives as well as working women. Wildcat people were quite clear in their feeling that women's issues had to be struggled through, despite their potential for dividing the working class men from women. They felt ultimately that working class men and women would stand for Women's Liberation and that the socialist revolution would free women – that neither class struggle nor Women's Liberation alone could produce human liberation.

Chicago Southside Women's Liberation was the only all-female group we met with, the only group which could have held the position that the women's revolution was the most necessary one, since the women in all three other groups had chosen to work on women's issues by working in male-female groups. Since the women to whom we spoke at the Southside Center gave very vague answers to our questions about why they had chosen to place their free health clinic in a working class neighborhood, we don't know whether they too were convinced of the need for Women's Liberation to be part of the class struggle, or whether it seemed to them that health clinics were simply needed more by women in working class or poor neighborhoods.

The fact that they did not articulate to us a decision, a stand on this question, made us feel that they – like most other Women's Liberation groups and much of the movement in general – have not grappled with the questions we are posing. We heard RUA, The Young Patriots, and Wildcat talking about their answers and their reasons for their answers – we know these groups have examined their assumptions, have an explicit theory of goals upon which they base their tactics. We are urging this kind of examination.

Our conclusion for the work we two want to be doing is closest to that taken by the Young Patriots and Wildcat. We feel that revolutionary actions based upon "sex against sex" or "youth culture," though certainly very significant and good, will not be as effective as those organized on a class basis, within which women will fight for their liberation. A good statement for our reasons is the following:

> It is true that women in general, even those in the upper classes, do suffer to some degree from male chauvinism. On some occasions and issues it is necessary and useful for women belonging to different social strata to form special organizations and take united action to eliminate injustices and disabilities inflicted upon the whole sex. One example is the movement to legalize birth control and give all women the right of abortion.
>
> However, the securing of even such urgent reforms as these will not eradicate the basic causes of women's oppression, which are rooted in the class structure of our society. On all fundamental questions concerning private property holdings, wealthy women are just as likely to uphold the status quo and their privileged positions in it as are wealthy men. Whenever they do so, they betray their own sex for the sake of their class interests and comforts.
>
> Thus, class against class must be the guiding line in the struggle for human liberation in general and women's liberation in particular. Only the revolutionary victory over capitalism, led by working men and women and supported by all sections of the oppressed, can release women from their subject status and give them a better life in a new society.
>
> ("Sex Against Sex – Or Class Against Class?" in *Problems of Women's Liberation*, by Evelyn Reed.

We are now convinced that it is necessary to begin to change our tactics so that we will be talking to working class women in a way that is relevant to their lives. This is the way both of us believe we can most quickly build a revolutionary socialist movement that will bring about a new society and create a new woman and a new man.

People who are interested in a more detailed analysis of Women's Liberation as it relates to the working class could begin by reading:

(1) the editorial position taken by Women: A Journal of Liberation, V.I, No. 1

(2) Problems of Women's Liberation, (Merit Pub. 1969)

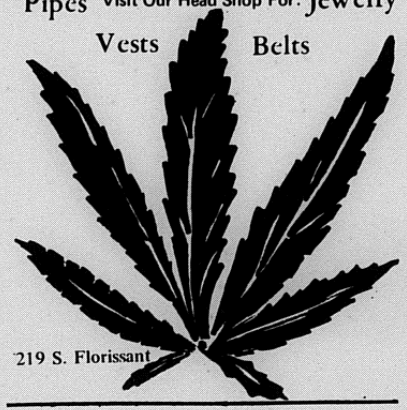
(3) Off Our Backs, (Washington, D.C. Women's Liberation Paper)

9←

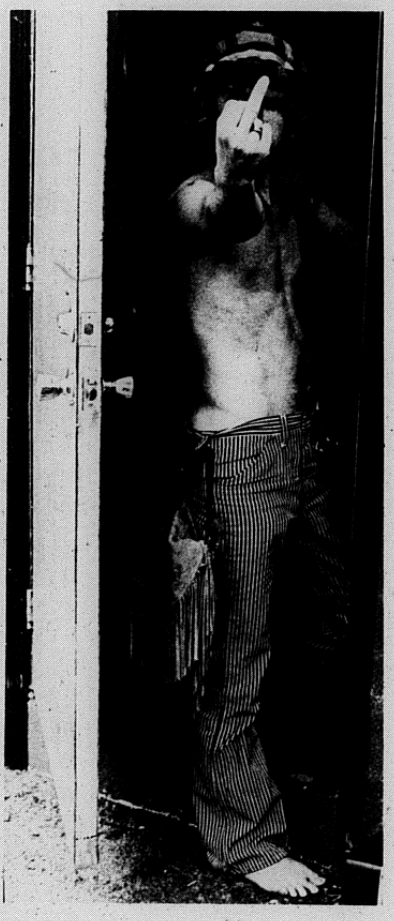
September, 1967, Byron Engle recommended the use of chemical munitions as one of "the most effective weapons . . . *if used properly and in quantity*." (his emphasis)

One need not go farther afield than the International Police Academy itself to find a mutually supporting relationship between OPS and a successful corporate elite. The building which houses IPA in Georgetown is rented from O. Roy Chalk for $220,000 per year. (Chalk owns D.C. Transit Company and built his domestic and foreign business operations on the backs of the Capital colony's bus riders–most of them poor and black. The IPA Review sometimes donates a commercial to Roy by suggesting that "the participants can ride inexpensive public buses–itself an orientation into American life." Until recently, Chalk owned Trans-Carribbean Airlines. He is a director of International Railways of Central America, which transports the produce of United Fruit Company.

These ties, while important in their own right, strikingly point up the common interest of the military, the national-security conscious New Frontiersman, and the traditional robber-baron businessman in maintaining an identical kind of law and order at home and overseas. Maintenance of the empire demands the same vigilance towards "internal security" in Washington, D.C., Rio de Janeiro, Saigon, Seoul, and Santo Domingo. The threat of liberation to one is a threat to all, and the repression of one has lessons for the repression of all. The Kennedys wanted to enforce the stability of the status quo on all the Third World. They succeeded in bringing the tensions and threats of revolution home to the United States.

POSTBELLUM
Incense Candles
Pipes Visit Our Head Shop For: Jewelry
Vests Belts

219 S. Florissant

Listen to KDNA ---- 102.5 FM

GET FROCKED!!


AT THE CLOTHES CLOSET . . . .
bells, flares, funky and groovy shirts, leathers, bangles, bands, beads, etc. for he and she.
BIG BEND AND LOCKWOOD
WEBSTER GROVES 926-2232
CLOTHES CLOSET

SIGHTS!
akashic
SOUNDS!
Record Shop, 6 N. Euclid (at Laclede)
VARIED SELECTION OF LP'S
FREE VISUALS!!

Business Plan Threatens Labor

By Radical Research Group

"There is little doubt," begins the 1968 Annual Report of the Regional Industrial Development Corporation (RIDC), "that as our nation continues to grow, so our region will grow. However, if we want to gain a competitive advantage and obtain a larger share of tomorrow's industrial expansion, *we must all pull together toward common goals*, and we must start now, today."

The "we" is big business and organized labor. "Both sides," continues RIDC, "must think in terms of long-range mutual advantage, as opposed to short-range gains for one at the other's expense."

At first glance, this is all very startling. Workers and big business have always been bitter natural enemies – indeed, class enemies. Industry seeks maximization of profits, which means getting as much production as possible from workers for the lowest possible wages, while workers seek decent pay. What, then, are the "common goals," the "long-range mutual advantage," that unions and industry should "pull together toward"? What is the basis for this unusual, if not unholy, alliance? What will workers gain by allying with their bosses that they could not get by continuing the tradition of class conflict? What will workers lose by entering into this pact?

The goal that workers and their bosses share in common, according to RIDC, is greater economic growth for the St. Louis region. For industry, economic growth means greater profits; for workers, it means more jobs. What is good for one is good for the other. "Competing economic regions are growing faster than we are," and unless St. Louis gets its proper share of the "66 billion dollar a year industrial expansion pie," business and labor alike will suffer.

The report paints a picture of different economic regions locked in a life and death struggle with each other for new industry, with workers and bosses in one region competing together against worker-boss alliances from other regions. Regional conflict thus replaces class conflict – St. Louis workers have more in common with their bosses than they have with fellow workers in, for example, Detroit.

In order for St. Louis to "regain momentum," the report continues, "certain needless restraints upon our economic growth must be removed...." Here comes the clincher. One of the major "needless restraints" is the "region's reputation as a 'tough' labor area." The only way to speed up economic growth is to offset that reputation, for labor to moderate its demands. That is the basis of the alliance.

Throughout the country, big business has begun to worry about the rising cost of labor. Workers in many crucial industries have been demanding and, in some cases after bitter strikes, getting wage increases of up to 25 per cent over the next three years. Facing competition from foreign companies with access to cheap labor and growing consumer anger about rising prices, corporations are beginning to see organized labor as their number one problem. In April, Business Week ran a feature article entitled "The U.S. Can't Afford What Labor Wants." If you substitute "big business" for "the U.S.," this sums up industry's attitude to worker demands for reasonable pay increases.

Industry is even more worried, however, by the growing militance of rank and file members. "Rejection by a union's members of an agreement negotiated by their leaders used to be an oddity," claims Business Week. "Today, one out of every seven or eight agreements is knocked out by rank-and-file rejection." "Union leadership," the article contends, "is faced with the same 'crisis of authority' that threatens other institutions, notably the universities. The membership has the bit in its teeth and does not hesitate to punish leaders who do not get all that the rank and file wants."

The problem, continues the organ of big business, is that "there is less orderliness now within labor ranks. Laws passed to assure democracy within unions give a guaranteed opportunity to malcontents and minority groups to challenge union authority and perhaps upset agreements negotiated by the officers." Management prefers the good old days when it could deal directly with "responsible," which should read cooperative or moderate, union leaders. They are finding it far more difficult to deal directly with the rank-and-file workers whose lives are affected by the negotiations.

In their frantic attempt to avoid the demands of organized labor, many companies have moved to the South where labor is less organized and wage scales are therefore lower. A growing number of companies, of which St. Louis' Monsanto Chemical is typical, have even begun moving their operations abroad where labor comes even cheaper than in the South.

Industry's threat is all too clear: if organized labor remains militant, companies will move their operations elsewhere, ruthlessly leaving militant, but now unemployed, workers behind. This threat has not totally been lost on organized labor in St. Louis. Speaking before member officers of the St. Louis Building and Construction Trades Council, Lawrence Callanan, head of the powerful Steamfitters Union, said: "Companies like the Union Electric are not fooling when they say they can build their plants elsewhere." To keep companies like Union Electric in St. Louis and protect the jobs of local workers, Callanan warned the union officers that workers would have to increase productivity and avoid jurisdictional strikes. Increased productivity means production line speed-ups which, in many industries, is a major grievance of workers.

Note the not too subtle difference in collective bargaining. Instead of workers demanding wage increases, under this alliance they are competing with labor in other regions to provide industry with the best possible contract, in the hope that it will either locate or remain in their region. Instead of demanding as much as they can, they ask for as little as possible.

If St. Louis workers had any doubts about the reality of this threat, those doubts were removed by the recent strike against St. Louis dairies. The dairies claimed they were losing business to outstate Missouri and Illinois competitors *because of* a Teamster restriction on when dairy deliveries could be made. In an effort to help St. Louis dairies regain their competitive position, and in turn, protect their own jobs, the Teamsters promised to remove the restrictions when the new contract was signed. This negotiation followed the RIDC model perfectly up to this point. However, one company, Quality Dairy, refused to meet the Teamster wage demands, said it could not continue in business if labor costs rose, and announced that it would be forced to liquidate its holdings – putting 386 people out of work. It is by such lessons that organized labor is reminded to stay in its proper place.

And it is on this thinly veiled threat that RIDC's program is based. In 1968, for example, RIDC sponsored a "selling" trip to interest Cleveland-based companies in the advantages of locating in St. Louis. As far as the 257 companies RIDC met with were concerned, St. Louis most attractive selling point was a pledge by 12 Illinois building and construction trades unions that they would not strike over jurisdictional disputes.

Let's take a closer look at how this alliance works in practice and what it means for labor. RIDC's major plan for promoting economic growth is to attract aerospace/defense and automobile industries to the St. Louis area. In *Aerospace-Defense and Auto Part Opportunities in the St. Louis Region*, a study done in December, 1967, RIDC found that there are vast opportunities for expansion and diversification in these industries. While there are major defense and auto companies located in St. Louis – McDonnell Douglas, Emerson Electric, Chevrolet, Ford, and Chrysler – the study found that "neither the aerospace nor the auto assembly industry purchase more than a small fraction of its subcontracting requirements from local sources." "As a result," the report continues, "firms capable of making parts for either industry would find a huge, ready-made market for their products literally on their doorsteps if they established plants here." To inform industry of the opportunities available here, RIDC sent the study to "more than 800 aerospace-defense subcontractors throughout the United States."

While this is the simplest way for industry to stimulate economic growth in the area, from the perspective of workers it is certainly not the best. While this plan may benefit workers in the short run by providing them with jobs, it also increases the St. Louis economy's dependence on the defense and auto industries and is certainly not in their long term interests.

Both industries provide highly unstable employment.

On the West Coast, for example, more than 100,000 aerospace workers have been laid off in the last two years. Boeing alone has laid off more than 50,000 workers in Seattle. When they land big contracts, aerospace companies hire large numbers of workers; when the contracts run out, they simply lay them off. The auto industry, of course, has a long history of seasonal employment, with compulsory overtime and frequent layoffs.

The problem, however, goes far beyond unstable employment and seasonal layoffs. The auto industry is responsible for most of the air pollution in America. Auto companies have consistently opposed the development of alternatives to the internal combustion engine, just as they have blocked the development of public rapid transit systems. The alliance between industry and labor puts workers in a difficult

→ 12

OUTLAW 12

Dealing With Your Draft Board

[redacted]

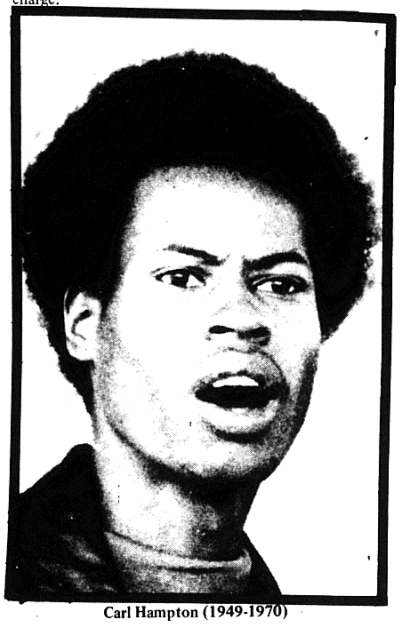
Houston Black Leader Slain

HOUSTON, Texas (Space City News) – Another young black leader is dead at the hands of police.

Carl B. Hampton, 21 year old chairman of People's Party II, a revolutionary black organization here, was shot down in an ambush by police snipers late Sunday night, July 26. He died four hours later in a local charity hospital.

Several others were wounded in the battle which ensued in Houston's largest black community, including other members of the People's Party and a man from the John Brown Revolutionary League (JBRL), a white organization.

Around six p.m. Sunday, July 26, two brothers were busted near the People's Party II Center on a weapons charge.



Carl Hampton (1949-1970)

Later that evening the People's Party had an impromptu rally in front of the center to raise support and bail money for the brothers in jail.

While Carl was speaking to the group of some 150 people, Ovide Duncantell, leader of the Central Committee for the Protection of Poor People, another militant black group, approached Carl and told him that an unmarked police car was parked in a lot at St. John the Baptist Church, a building some 800 yards north of the center.

Carl mentioned it to the crowd, and two brothers armed with shotguns, ran toward the vicinity of the church.

Some minutes later, Duncantell reported that there were two cops on the roof of St. John's Church. He also said that someone had shot at the cops.

A witness who has worked closely with the People's Party said that he heard a shot, but he recognized it as the unmistakeable sound of a .22 cal. weapon, not a shotgun. If so, the obvious conclusion is that the brothers who had left for the Church could not have fired the shot, because they were armed only with shotguns. People's Party policy prohibits firing on police unless in self-defense.

So Carl and another man ran down to the Church to check out the scene. As they moved out into the street, they found themselves exposed so they ducked into an alley near a business building across the street from the church.

Then the shooting started. A large portion of the crowd dispersed and the rest, including People's Party II and JBLR members, moved inside the Center to get their weapons.

The first shots were the ones that got Carl.

JBRL member Bartee Haile later said in an interview with KPFT-FM, Houston's Pacifica radio station, that three or four men were running toward the Church. Bartee, who was trying to get to Carl, hid behind a parked car. Others with guns moved up behind him. There was an exchange of gunfire and Bartee was shot in the arm.

"The same sniper that got Carl got me" he said.

Bartee, bleeding profusely, ran back to the center dodging bullets all the way.

As to who started the shooting, Bartee said, "I don't for any moment believe that People's Party II members and supporters went down there and opened up on snipers who had such a superior firing angle on them."

People's Party II and JBRL members are not trigger happy romantics seeking glorious death in the streets by provoking armed confrontation with the police. They have guns, they know how to use them, and they have used them only for self-defense.

The Police Department claims that some "black militant" opened fire on them. St. John's Church is the tallest building in the area. There is no way that a person on the street thirty feet below could "snipe" at police virtually hidden on a rooftop with a strategically useful parapet. The shooting started some time after 10 pm and lasted for less than an hour.

An unidentified driver in a VW drove through a rain of bullets to rescue Carl. The car was fired on, and it wheeled away leaving one man holding Carl over his shoulder. The man escaped with Carl who arrived shortly after 11 pm at Ben Taube Hospital in very critical condition.

If there was anyone the cops were out to get, it was Carl. Space City learned that Carl was shot several times in the chest and once in the liver, which at a distance of some 200 feet required excellent marksmanship and intent to kill.

Several others were wounded, but none critically. One of the wounded, however, was shot in the ankle and has lost his foot. At least eight men were shot.

The people remaining in the center seeing that they were overpowered escaped out the back. The injured were on the way to hospitals.

Police began to cordon off the area and conducted a systematic occupation of the community which eventually extended over a twenty square block area. Two whirly pigs with spotlights hovered over the area.

Two pigs claim to have shot Carl. Both are members of the Criminal Intelligence Department or Red Squad. The pigs say they situated themselves on top of the building to "watch for snipers".

After the shooting the pigs entered the People's Party headquarters and trashed the place with great glee according to KPFT news. When People's Party members returned the next day they found police graffitti scribbled on the walls, including "Wallace in 72" and "Fuck Huey."

The police then launched a totally unexpected attack on community people standing along the street, beating and arresting anyone they could get their hands on. Police arrested more than fifty people, all black except for one former KPFT staff member. They were charged with loitering and failure to move on. Many still remain in prison with bonds set at $200.

Most movement people here are stunned at Carl's death. Yet it was not really unexpected. Carl Hampton, like Black Panther Fred Hampton, had often told close friends that he knew his death, could come at any moment.

Houston! This is a city that sentenced Lee Otis Johnson, charismatic leader of Houston SNCC, to thirty years for supposedly giving (in Texas giving means selling) a joint to an undercover agent.

This is a city that busted Maggie Hampton, Carl's wife, only a few hours after her husband died, for suspicion of burglary. She was carrying the People's Party bail money in her car.

We can't be afraid anymore. We have pulled together a committee for the defense of the People's Party, a coalition of different movement groups in the city to help the Party survive the loss of Carl's leadership, and organize for our own survival.

The People's Party has only existed since February, and already the pigs have had to move on it.

When The Man Comes

From The Berkeley Tribe

Information is a crucial ingredient in the fuel that runs the engine of repression. It is important for us to recognize that not all the information that the Pigs obtain comes from bugs and agents. Sometimes we sisters and brothers of the movement supply the information.

This is how it happens. Some of us get scared when an FBI agent appears at the door. We answer a few "simple" questions because we are afraid not to—afraid of committing some crime by not talking. Our fear in this situation distorts our judgement.

There is no law requiring us to talk with an FBI agent. No crime against the State is committed when the agent is brushed off and the door is shut immediately. However, a crime against our people is done when we deal with the situation by answering any of the Fed's questions.

No FBI agent asks idle questions; there is no such thing as small talk with a pig. A long answer, a short answer, a truthful answer, a lying answer—any of these will supply some sort of information which is of use to the State. The FBI visitor may be out to make a case on you, or a sister, or a brother—and you have "sung" if you say anything more than: "Call my lawyer. Goodbye."

Sometimes when we open the door unafraid and ready to brush the pig off, we get caught by an old interrogation trick. The FBI agent says, "We have some information which tends to implicate you in (such and such) a bombing. If you could answer a few questions, I'm sure we can straighten things out." Your mouth drops; your mind boggles: "Shit man, I didn't do that!"

Suddenly you've lost your cool and you're only too glad to tell the Pig where you were on Thursday night and who you were with. Maybe that's all he wanted to know—where you were and if (x) was with you. And, you've given him the information. Even two-bit gangsters in grade-B movies don't fall for that one.

Some others of us are not afraid when the FBI comes—in fact quite the reverse. We are so arrogant about our wits and the Fed's stupidity that we invite the pig in to ask his questions, and find out what the enemy is up to. Fat chance. Our very questions give the pig information which he might never stumble over. Behind each question is a body of information which may well be revealed in the question itself or in a series of questions. Some of our brothers have reported on an interview: "Man, was that a dumb pig. He didn't know what he was looking for." There are several names for that kind of arrogance.

What should we do when the FBI comes to call? It's really pretty simple. Experience has shown that the best response after the caller identifies himself and flashes his badge is to say "That's nice and if you have any questions, I'll listen to them in my lawyer's presence. She (or he) is (so and so). So long."

Don't let him in. Don't be afraid. Don't be tricked. Don't be arrogant. Any talking you do may sound like singing.

The history of struggle is filled with cases of sisters and brothers sent to jail and to death on "frame-ups" based on just enough circumstantial information to give an aura of credibility to the State's charges.

Another line of FBI investigating to anticipate is the visit to a third person: a parent or friend, or employer. Where possible, it is helpful to talk with someone likely to be contacted, and let them know the best way to deal with FBI visitors. Bits and pieces of information from nervous employers and upset parents may make up a mosaic of trouble for one of us. So, try to anticipate the problem and handle it ahead of time with enough tact and humor to ease the situation.

Somehow, along with everything else we must do, a balance should be struck between silly paranoia and naive obliviousness. Long before we are ready, the pigs are moving against us. The State in its seriousness forces us to be ever more sophisticated about defending ourselves. Perhaps the first step in learning about weapons is how to engage the safety on our mouths.

Prepared by the staff of the National Lawyers Guild Regional Office, Los Angeles, California.

Buck Owens Concert

By Calvin Cahan

Due to transportation problems, I only made it to one concert at the Mississippi River Festival this summer Buck Owens and the Buckaroos. Buck Owens is not my favorite country artist, but I usually like his records. And the Buckaroos are good musicians, clean country picking and all that stuff.

I had expected to see out there a fairly large number of freaks, longhairs, etc., as country rock has been "in" now for quite some time. But very few showed up, leaving a crowd of "straights," mostly middle aged. I had that figured out by walking through the parking lot and spotting mostly Illinois license plates. The big city folk just didn't show up for this gig, I guess.

Urbanized country music, like a lot of urbanized blues, is usually packaged in shows featuring other musicians in addition to the headliner. The Buck Owens troupe is a good example of this. First, the Buckaroos played a few numbers with lead vocals handled by three of the four in the group. Material ranged from Merle Haggard ("Working Man's Blues") to The Band ("Up on Cripple Creek"). Immediately noticeable was the crisp lead guitar of Don Rich, who would probably be comfortable playing in a "hard rock" group if he wanted to give up the money and fame of a Buckaroo.

Then came the Hager twins, long hair but "neat." They're pretty good, but one can't help comparing them to the Everly Brothers, and, of course, they wind up on the short end of the comparison. After the Hagers came Freddy Hart, a good example of the country musician whose voice makes the maudlin lyrics palatable and the songs enjoyable.

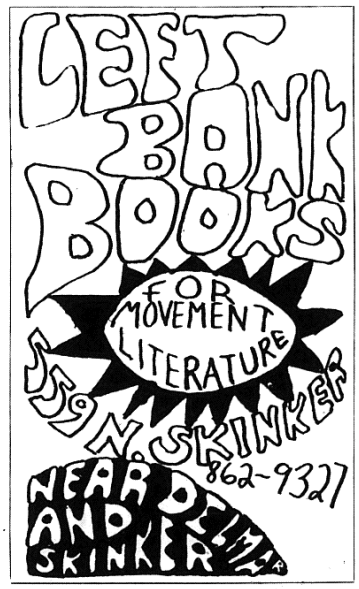
Then the next part of the formula is plugged in, the female vocalist who sings solo for awhile and then comes back later to join the star in some duets. Buck Owens' girl singer is Susan Raye, who runs on stage in a light, fluffy summer dress and a winsome smile. She was good, too. I liked her versions of "Lodi" and "Silver Threads and Golden Needles."

Intermission, then Buck Owens. The audience knows him and wildly applauds. Buck does a medley of some of his uncountable number of hits, including "Tiger By the Tail," "Tall, Dark Stranger," "Act Naturally," a version of "Johnny B. Goode" (a Chuck Berry song which is a hit in any pop music classification) and others. He closes with a hymn, "Dust on My Mother's Bible," which clearly indicates country music's mixing of the sacred and profane, something inherent in blues. And then Buck and his company leave the stage to the restrained but clearly sincere ovation of the audience.

Now for the heavy point. The type of country music presented by Buck Owens, modern or urbanized country music, as it's called, is obviously similar in substance to rock music. Rock music, as every schoolboy knows, being a synthesis of blues and country. Chuck Berry, Jerry Lee Lewis, Johnny Cash, and a litany of other pop immortals. But the "types" of people who support and follow country and rock are different by class, age, appearances, and so forth. Country music is heavily electrified, although the decibel level isn't as high as in rock. And, as previously mentioned, the shows are more rigid and prescribed. Also, sexual repression runs rampant in the lyrics (how's that for a contradiction) and in the bantering between songs. For example, Susan Raye and the Buckaroos would play the usual horny men and nice girl games, to the approval of the audience (I thought it was pretty funny). Buck Owens, cherubic face and all, acts as mediator, covering his face with his hands when a suggestive comment is made by a Buckaroo and playfully scolding his overly libidinous musician.

But as far as I'm concerned, music is energy. Mellow, wistful energy or fiery, lusty energy, whatever form it takes. And country music can't be beaten when it comes down to the recognition of intense personal love as a totally consuming, but most valuable way to live. The result of this recognition is many songs dealing with unfulfillment and isolated, broken lives. A truly Sisyphyian recognition.

And country music, even much of the commercial variety, is loads of fun. But the freaks go to their Woodstocks and the straight, silent majority types go to their Grand Ole Opries. Too bad that art is a reflection of life a painful, artificially divided life at that.



STUDENTS

Earn some spending money this fall and help the movement at the same time. Sell the Outlaw at your school. You keep ten cents for each paper you sell, and you provide invaluable assistance to us in our effort to reach as many young people in the greater St. Louis area as possible. Call 862-9327 today and work out the details for the coming semester.

Gypsy Cowboy

Leather Clothes
Jeans & Pants
Shirts and Polos
Shoes-Boots-Moccasins
Dresses-Skirts
Jewelry-Hats

401 N. Euclid *St. Louis, Mo.*

SPIRO WHO?

The "IN" Watch For 1970

Now Available Daily At

KSHE RADIO

special price only $12.50

mail orders to:

KSHE RADIO
9434 Watson
Crestwood, Mo. 63216

Buck Owens Concert

By Calvin Cahan

Due to transportation problems, I only made it to one concert at the Mississippi River Festival this summer Buck Owens and the Buckaroos. Buck Owens is not my favorite country artist, but I usually like his records. And the Buckaroos are good musicians, clean country picking and all that stuff.

I had expected to see out there a fairly large number of freaks, longhairs, etc., as country rock has been "in" now for quite some time. But very few showed up, leaving a crowd of "straights," mostly middle aged. I had that figured out by walking through the parking lot and spotting mostly Illinois license plates. The big city folk just didn't show up for this gig, I guess.

Urbanized country music, like a lot of urbanized blues, is usually packaged in shows featuring other musicians in addition to the headliner. The Buck Owens troupe is a good example of this. First, the Buckaroos played a few numbers with lead vocals handled by three of the four in the group. Material ranged from Merle Haggard ("Working Man's Blues") to The Band ("Up on Cripple Creek"). Immediately noticeable was the crisp lead guitar of Don Rich, who would probably be comfortable playing in a "hard rock" group if he wanted to give up the money and fame of a Buckaroo.

Then came the Hager twins, long hair but "neat." They're pretty good, but one can't help comparing them to the Everly Brothers, and, of course, they wind up on the short end of the comparison. After the Hagers came Freddy Hart, a good example of the country musician whose voice makes the maudlin lyrics palatable and the songs enjoyable.

Then the next part of the formula is plugged in, the female vocalist who sings solo for awhile and then comes back later to join the star in some duets. Buck Owens' girl singer is Susan Raye, who runs on stage in a light, fluffy summer dress and a winsome smile. She was good, too. I liked her versions of "Lodi" and "Silver Threads and Golden Needles."

Intermission, then Buck Owens. The audience knows him and wildly applauds. Buck does a medley of some of his uncountable number of hits, including "Tiger By the Tail," "Tall, Dark Stranger," "Act Naturally," a version of "Johnny B. Goode" (a Chuck Berry song which is a hit in any pop music classification) and others. He closes with a hymn, "Dust on My Mother's Bible," which clearly indicates country music's mixing of the sacred and profane, something inherent in blues. And then Buck and his company leave the stage to the restrained but clearly sincere ovation of the audience.

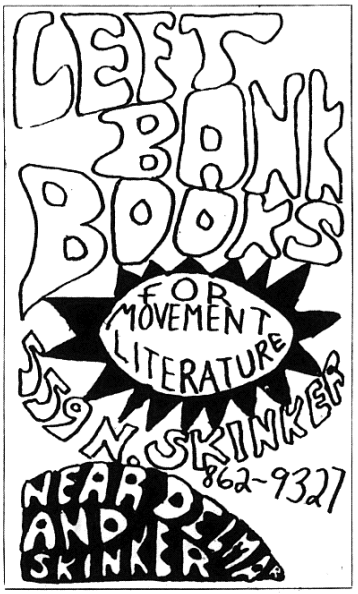
Now for the heavy point. The type of country music presented by Buck Owens, modern or urbanized country music, as it's called, is obviously similar in substance to rock music. Rock music, as every schoolboy knows, being a synthesis of blues and country. Chuck Berry, Jerry Lee Lewis, Johnny Cash, and a litany of other pop immortals. But the "types" of people who support and follow country and rock are different by class, age, appearances, and so forth. Country music is heavily electrified, although the decibel level isn't as high as in rock. And, as previously mentioned, the shows are more rigid and prescribed. Also, sexual repression runs rampant in the lyrics (how's that for a contradiction) and in the bantering between songs. For example, Susan Raye and the Buckaroos would play the usual horny men and nice girl games, to the approval of the audience (I thought it was pretty funny). Buck Owens, cherubic face and all, acts as mediator, covering his face with his hands when a suggestive comment is made by a Buckaroo and playfully scolding his overly libidinous musician.

But as far as I'm concerned, music is energy. Mellow, wistful energy or fiery, lusty energy, whatever form it takes. And country music can't be beaten when it comes down to the recognition of intense personal love as a totally consuming, but most valuable way to live. The result of this recognition is many songs dealing with unfulfillment and isolated, broken lives. A truly Sisyphyian recognition.

And country music, even much of the commercial variety, is loads of fun. But the freaks go to their Woodstocks and the straight, silent majority types go to their Grand Ole Opries. Too bad that art is a reflection of life a painful, artificially divided life at that.

STUDENTS

Earn some spending money this fall and help the movement at the same time. Sell the Outlaw at your school. You keep ten cents for each paper you sell, and you provide invaluable assistance to us in our effort to reach as many young people in the greater St. Louis area as possible. Call 862-9327 today and work out the details for the coming semester.



Gypsy Cowboy

Leather Clothes
Jeans & Pants
Shirts and Polos
Shoes-Boots-Moccasins
Dresses-Skirts
Jewelry-Hats

401 N. Euclid St. Louis, Mo.

SPIRO WHO?

The "IN" Watch For 1970

Now Available Daily At

KSHE RADIO

special price only $12.50

mail orders to:

KSHE RADIO
9434 Watson
Crestwood, Mo. 63216

Working On The Line

By James C. Butler

Heat, St. Louis heat, July working its way into August heat. Down it comes, pouring over the roof, marching between the rows of presses, ovens, and the other clunky machines; seeping into boxcars and trailers. By four o'clock heat is in control.

I'm young and strong. I've survived the heat of Saigon. I've laughed at it and enjoyed the hot sidewalk life of crackerjack capitalism. But now the heat has an ally; the factory, the plant, like an incubator it holds the heat close, it prepares its humid hot hand for the poor bastards on the B shift–for me.

I hate the heat, the factory, the bosses, the lousy $3.25 per hour. I hate the damned time clock, the "Wash Hands Before Returning To Work" signs. I hate the concrete and wooden brick floors that bake my feet, and break my arches. I hate the mo...not...o...ny, the total sense of non-involvement, non production. Sure, I do a lot of things, put one box on top of another, strap pallets of cans, and sweep floors–none of them mean a shit to me.

And the heat beats on....

Today they pour it on, loading a fucking boxcar. Fill it up five boxes high, each box containing 14 zillion gallon paint lids, like 60 pounds a box.

Good honest labor, that's what Billy Graham says.

Slave labor I say.

The boxcar is a good friend of the heat, it holds every morsel of humidity, it shuts off every breeze. The air is like clay, hot clay, ready for molding. But I'm ready, I've got corn starch rubbed in my crotch, some alum blocks in my pants, a Wilt Chamberlain sweat band on my head, and my Rock Hudsons (they're important cause they're baggy and you stick the seam between your ass to cut down on skin friction.)

Hey Mr. Nixon, why don't you join me in this boxcar, bust your ass, lift that box, and tell me all about your secret plan to end inflation. Are you going to raise the taxes of your Wall Street friends, the Church, the oil companies? Are you going to plug the pipelines of inherited wealth? Tell me your secret, Mr. Nixon. Tell me who's going to pay for this inflation: me or Rockefeller? Does Rocky save coupons, does he care what the price of hamburger is? Tell me, Mr. Nixon, while you lift that box, about the nobility of labor, about the Silent Majority.

The fork lift driver hustles the boxes to us, me and this other kid, a student from Rolla, screwed out of his summer drafting job thanks to Nixon's secret plan. He hates the job, I hate the job. The driver doesn't hate the job; he's too drunk to hate anything. Hey! Billy! Good honest labor sucks. When's the last time you did any?

The heat is tough, so instead of lifting the boxes we sit on them. I contemplate the sweat as it drips into my navel. I have visions of beating David Eisenhower to a pulp with a crowbar, pounding my fist into Spiro's golden mouth, machine gunning the entire first family, raping Miss America.

Yeah! I'm a real factory flower child.

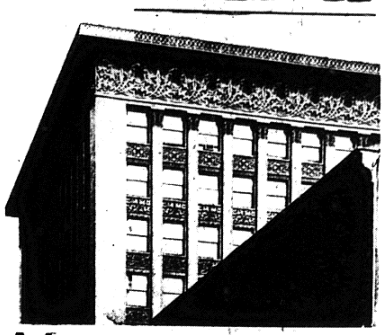
Sitting down on the job. Terrible! Just like a couple of shiftless longhairs. Don't you have any pride in your work; don't you want to get ahead; don't you want that 17 foot, 400 horsepower, four-on-the-floor symbol of achievement and masculinity? Come on Producer-Consumer, lift that box, throw it up there! So what if your asshole is dangling between your knees – it's the American Way!

The foreman asks me to work Saturday and Sunday. I tell him it's against the Constitution; he says I'm full of shit. I tell him it's against my religion; he gives me the same answer. I tell him I'll beat his head in with a crowbar; he laughs. I say my wife won't stand for it; he smiles and says O.K.

The cans bang together, the machines clank and clunk as they've been doing since the War, and the slaves' minds are all banged and clunked out from the noise of a hundred million screaming cans that have marched by since the glory days of World War II.

Standing waiting to clock out, I'm beat. I know the heat has won, all my devices, all the goofing off, all the daydreaming; it hasn't helped. My mind is gone, my sex drive zapped.

Dear wife, I love you, but it's been a long eight hours with the Heat... and I'm tired, very tired.



Wainwright

By George Lipsitz

From the Mansion House Center in the east to the Busch Brewery in the south, a curtain of drab ugly buildings dominates the architecture of downtown St. Louis. Most of the stores and office buildings in the downtown area are copies of structures which would be failures anywhere, but whose ugliness is increased by their nearness to so many other eyesores.

However, if you walk around and look closely at the buildings, you'll find that there is a lot to be discovered in the architecture of this city. Mixed in with the old fashioned tombs like City Hall and the modern monuments to sterility like the Laclede Gas Company Building are some old gems – buildings designed by architects who cared about people and who tried to make this city a beautiful place.

One such gem is the Wainwright Building, an office building on the corner of 7th and Chestnut which was designed by Louis Sullivan, one of the most creative and humane architects who ever lived. Architecture is generally an art dominated by the establishment and as such usually represents the coarse, inhuman, and materialistic values of the people who can afford to build big buildings. But occasionally an architect like Sullivan comes along, a free thinker with a love for people and a faith in humanity whose buildings become sources of pride and strength for the whole community.

Sullivan was a master of his craft, but his main concern was to use his art to liberate the unused potential of people. He believed in the genius of every individual and attempted to create a philosophy of architecture which would serve the people. To Sullivan, buildings figured in the lives of everyone in the community and he attempted to make his buildings structures which affirmed the creativity and potential of each individual.

The Wainwright Building was one of the first skyscrapers built in the world (1891) and instead of trying to mask its form into an imitation of a classical temple or forum, Sullivan celebrated its originality by a straight forward design and by beautiful ornamentation on each of its nine floors. Realizing that steel frame structure was the wave of the future, Sullivan was the first architect to accentuate the vertical continuity demanded by that means of construction. In Sullivan's view, technology was a force designed to liberate man from the chains of traditional needs, and he celebrated each advance in construction technology by an appropriate advance in architecture.

The fact that the Wainwright Building is still being used for its original purpose some eighty years after it was built is a reflection of Sullivan's genius and of his most famous axiom that "form follows function." Unlike earlier architects, he believed that the design of a building should be determined by what that building was going to be used for. Instead of paying homage to the cliches of the past, Sullivan created buildings designed for real people in real situations.

However, Sullivan's ideas contained within them the seed of their own destruction. If form follows function, how can architecture be anything more than a reflection of the culture in which it exists? The Wainwright Building is a beautiful office building, but it is still an office building. Are the people who work there any less unhappy about their jobs because they work in a building designed by Louis Sullivan? Can Sullivan's democratic ideals overcome the exploitative and undemocratic nature of the business which is transacted inside it?

Sullivan's dream of democracy was deeply rooted in the best tradition of this country. It was what Walt Whitman meant when he said, "I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms" and it was the driving force behind the motto of the Industrial Workers of the World when they said, "An injury to one is an injury to all." What we would have in our art we must fight for in our lives, because all the powerful interests in this country try to crush democratic instincts and foster distrust among people. Men like Louis Sullivan have given us a taste of what democracy can be like, but it is up to us to create the kind of society where it can flower and thrive.

SUBSCRIBE

I don't want to miss a single exciting issue of the St. Louis Outlaw. Enclosed is five dollars. Please mail every issue for the next year to:

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Return this form to:

St. Louis Outlaw
4285 Olive
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

OUTLINE 16

GOLLY!!! my new body is so HEAVY!!!
PRESENTS
JUNE 30th A.D.
The sordid truth is out!!! ARZIE ANDROID, cute little pixie loved by millions, is a fat, fat, old man...
FAR OUT!
YES!
GOSH! GEE!
NO!!!
yes!!!
LEADING A PACK OF VULTURES AND THIEVES IS THAT SWINE ARZIE ANDROID!!! OPERATING UNDER THE GUISE OF PERPETUAL YOUTH AND NEVER-ENDING PLASTIC GOOD TIMES; THROBS THE BODY OF A MONEY HUNGRY CAPITALIST... SELLING DREAMS FOR A BUCK, THIS MONSTER SENDS THE CHILDREN OF THIS NATION ON ONE FUTILE TRIP AFTER ANOTHER... HE IS EVERYWHERE, THIS "HIP" CAPITALIST...
fergit those records
THE ARZIES
UNCLE FAT
The whole bit, the CLOTHES the HIP LANGUAGE all of it's a BIG RIP-OFF I know, ARZIE and I are married!!!
DOWN WITH PEOPLE!
A man has to make a living! I mean, the whole cult of YOUTH...
?
WITH A CAPITAL "Y"
HAS UNLIMITED POTENTIAL
!
AND "Y" RHYMES WITH STY!
AND THAT'S WHAT I CALL PIG!
WOW
FOR A MAN WHO CAN SELL MYTHS!
THE ARZIES "I'LL NEVER BE OLD"
$
GEE!